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PARLIAMENT, Seſſ. 1779-80.

IN purſuance of a Royal proclamation, dated Oct. 6. the parliament met, at Weſtminſter, on Thurſday, Nov. 25.——The King opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I meet you in parliament at a time when we are called upon by every principle of duty, and every conſideration of intereſt, to exert our united efforts in the ſupport and defence of our country, attacked by an unjuſt and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that ever was formed againſt the crown and people of Great Britain.

The deſigns and attempts of our enemies to invade this kingdom, have, by the bleſſing of Providence, been hitherto fruſtrated and diſappointed. They ſtill menace us with great armaments and preparations; but we are, I truſt, on our part, well prepared to meet every attack, and repel every inſult. I know the character of my brave people: The menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, have no other effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to call forth that national ſpirit, which has ſo often checked and defeated the projects of ambition and injuſtice, and enabled the Britiſh fleets and armies to protect their own country, to vindicate their own rights, and at the ſame time to uphold and preſerve the liberties of Europe from the reſtleſs and encroaching

encroaching power of the houſe of Bourbon.

In the midſt of my care and ſolicitude for the ſafety and welfare of this country, I have not been inattentive to the ſtate of my loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland. I have, in conſequence of your addreſſes, preſented to me in the laſt ſeſſion, ordered ſuch papers to be collected, and laid before you, as may aſſiſt your deliberations on this important buſineſs; and I recommend it to you to conſider what further benefits and advantages may be extended to that kingdom, by ſuch regulations and ſuch methods as may moſt effectually promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts of all my dominions.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The proper eſtimates ſhall, in due time, be laid before you. I ſee, with extreme concern, that the neceſſary eſtabliſhments of my naval and military forces, and the various ſervices and operations of the enſuing year, muſt inevitably be attended with great and heavy expences; but I rely on your wiſdom and public ſpirit for ſuch ſupplies as the circumſtances and exigencies of our affairs ſhall be found to require.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have great ſatisfaction in renewing the aſſurances of my entire approbation of the good conduct and diſcipline of the militia, and of their ſteady perſeverance in their duty; and I return my cordial thanks to all ranks of my loyal ſubjects who have ſtood forth in this arduous conjuncture, and by their zeal, their influence, and their perſonal ſervice, have given confidence as well as ſtrength to the national defence. Truſting in the Divine Providence, and in the juſtice of my cauſe, I am firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion in order to compel our enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation."

The LORDS Addreſs, preſented Nov. 26.

"Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

The juſt ſenſe we have of the bleſſings under your Majeſty's government, and the indignation we feel at the unprovoked and unwarranted aggreſſion of our enemies, who ſeek to deprive us of thoſe bleſſings, and threaten your Majeſty's kingdoms with invaſion, will continue to animate our reſolutions, and redouble our efforts, in the national defence. We truſt, that thoſe efforts, ſeconded by the zeal of a faithful and loyal people, will, under the Providence of God, be fully ſufficient to repel every attack, and to fruſtrate the hopes, and defeat the deſigns, of any confederacy that may be formed againſt your Majeſty's crown and dominions.

In ſuch a criſis, the approach of danger can ſerve only to call forth that national ſpirit, which always riſes with the occaſion that demands it, but never diſplayed itſelf in a more important conjuncture, tho' it has ſo often protected the liberties of theſe kingdoms, and of Europe in general, and has enabled the Britiſh fleets and armies to withſtand, and defeat, the deſigns of that reſtleſs and aſpiring ambition, which has ſo frequently diſturbed the peace and invaded the rights of mankind.

We are deeply ſenſible of your Majeſty's paternal goodneſs, which does not confine itſelf to one part of your dominions, but is anxious for the proſperity of the whole, and, in the midſt of your care and ſolicitude for the ſafety and welfare of this country, has led your attention to the ſtate of your loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland. Guided by the ſame ſentiments which prompted the humble addreſs we preſented to your Majeſty the laſt ſeſſion, we will continue our attention to thoſe important objects your Majeſty's wiſdom recommends, and after deliberately weighing the whole, will conſider, what further benefits may be extended to that kingdom, by ſuch regulations, and ſuch methods, as may moſt effectually promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts of all your Majeſty's dominions.

Your Majeſty's approbation of the good conduct and diſcipline of the militia, and of their ſteady perſeverance in their duty, and the ſatisfaction your Majeſty expreſſes in the conduct of your loyal ſubjects of all ranks, who have ſtood forth in this arduous conjuncture, muſt redouble that zeal, extend that influence, and increaſe thoſe perſonal exertions, which have given confidence as well as ſtrength to the national defence.

We ſee with great ſatisfaction, that your

your Majeſty, truſting in the Divine Providence, and in the juſtice of your cauſe, is firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel our enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation. Such ſpirited and vigorous meaſures muſt be conducive to ſo deſirable an end; and we humbly beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that they will meet with our moſt hearty concurrence and firmeſt ſupport."

The Commons addreſs, preſented Nov. 27.

"Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We are truly ſenſible, that in the preſent arduous ſituation of affairs, we are called upon by every principle and every ſentiment of duty to your Majeſty, and to thoſe we repreſent, to exert and to unite our utmoſt efforts in the ſupport and defence of our country, againſt a moſt unjuſt war, and one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that was ever formed againſt the crown and people of Great Britain.

We ſee and revere the goodneſs of Divine Providence, in fruſtrating and diſappointing the deſigns of our enemies to invade this kingdom: and whenever they attempt to carry their menaces into execution, we truſt their attacks will be repelled, and their enterpriſe defeated, by the bleſſing of the ſame Providence on the valour and intrepidity of your Majeſty's fleets and armies; and that your Majeſty's gracious and endearing declaration of your confidence in the character and courage of your people, will be juſtified by the moſt convincing proofs, that they are ſtill animated by the ſame ardour, and the ſame ſpirit, that have in former times carried this nation through ſo many difficulties and dangers, and have ſo often enabled their anceſtors to protect their country, and all its dominions, and to ſave not only their own rights, but the liberties of other free ſtates, from the reſtleſs ambition and encroaching power of the houſe of Bourbon.

We acknowledge, with thankfulneſs, your Majeſty's goodneſs and attention to the addreſſes of this Houſe, reſpecting your loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland, in being pleaſed to order ſuch papers to be communicated to this Houſe as may aſſiſt our deliberations on this important buſineſs: and we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will not fail to take into our conſideration what further benefits and advantages may be extended to that kingdom, by ſuch regulations, and ſuch methods, as may moſt effectually promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts, of all your dominions.

Permit us, Sir, to return our humble thanks to your Majeſty, for the gracious manner in which your Majeſty renews and confirms your entire approbation of the good conduct and ſteady diſcipline of the national militia; and to aſſure your Majeſty, that we concur moſt ſincerely with your Majeſty, in acknowledging and applauding the meritorious zeal and ſervices of thoſe loyal ſubjects who ſtood forth in the hour of danger, and who added confidence, as well as ſtrength, to the national defence.

Your Majeſty's faithful Commons receive with gratitude, and take a ſincere part in, your Majeſty's paternal expreſſions of concern, that the various and extenſive ſervices and operations of the enſuing year muſt unavoidably be attended with great and heavy expences: yet when it is conſidered, how much the commerce, the proſperity, and the ſafety of Great Britain depend on the iſſue of this conteſt, we doubt not that ſuch powerful conſiderations and motives will induce all your Majeſty's ſubjects to ſuſtain, with cheerfulneſs and magnanimity, whatever burdens ſhall be found neceſſary for raiſing ſuch ſupplies as may enable your Majeſty to proſecute the war with vigour and effect, and to make every exertion, in order to compel your enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation."

Gracious anſwers were returned by the King to the addreſſes.

In the Houſe of Lords it was the Earl of Cheſterfield that moved for the addreſs; and in his introductory ſpeech he obſerved, that the new levies, including the independent companies, and regimental levies, amounted to 14,000 men.

The Earl of Grantham ſeconded the motion. He ſaid, his long abſence from the kingdom had deprived him of the opportunity of forming any deciſive o-

pinion concerning many very important points which might operate with other Lords, as the foundation and motives for their votes on the preſent occaſion. But though he was not, from this circumſtance, qualified to pronounce with preciſion concerning the nature and extent of our reſources; yet this much he knew, that the union between the parts of the Houſe of Bourbon was at this time warm and complete, and therefore dangerous. His ſituation as ambaſſador at the Spaniſh court, had ſupplied him amply with the power of judging on this ſubject; and of this truth his experience there had convinced him, that the family-compact never poſſeſſed, at any other period, either ſo much ſtrength or ſo much ſincerity as at preſent. On this account it was that he ſeconded the preſent motion. He was ſufficiently convinced of the particular neceſſity under which this country lay for the moſt liberal and active exertions.—As to our reſources, he would ſay little on the ſubject, but content himſelf with obſerving, that if they were ample, they ought to be moſt freely diſplayed; if otherwiſe, the more ſilence on the ſubject the better.—He begged it to be underſtood, that he reſerved himſelf for giving ſuch opinions on the future ſubjects that might ariſe during the proſecution of the war, as the circumſtances at the time, and his own conviction, might induce him to; that he bound himſelf to no party, but was a free man, and gave a free opinion.——In the meaſures to be adopted with reſpect to Ireland, as he underſtood but little of the ſubject, he would ſpeak with diffidence; but this much he would ſuggeſt, that that country ought at preſent to be conſidered as a dear and ſurviving child, and ſhould be treated with the tenderneſs and care due to ſuch a character and ſituation: That it was a tree whoſe branches might afford us ſhade and nutriment, if toſtered with attention; but, if ſtruck at the root, would, inſtead of a comfort, convert into a ſource of material inconvenience and danger.

The Marquis of Rockingham followed Lord Grantham. He ſaid, he could by no means agree to the addreſs, becauſe he felt within himſelf inſurmountable objections to the very firſt words of it; namely, to the profeſſion, that the Houſe entertained the fulleſt ſenſe of the bleſſings that the country had enjoyed from his Majeſty's government. It was not his opinion that his reign had been in any ſenſe a bleſſed one. His Majeſty, from his acceſſion, had uniformly adopted meaſures that differed, in the greateſt degree, from thoſe in which his illuſtrious anceſtry had invariably perſevered.—They were not Whig meaſures,—not Brunſwick ones,—but ſuch as he had for ſeventeen years uninterruptedly diſliked as anti-Whiggiſh and unconſtitutional.—— The Noble Marquis ſtated very circumſtantially the defenceleſs ſtate of the town and port of Hull when Paul Jones was juſt off the mouth of the Humber.—He alſo took notice of the late appointment of a Noble Earl to be Firſt Lord of Trade, and obſerved, that, now we had neither trade nor plantations, an office hitherto executed by one perſon, was ſplit into two, for the ſake of a miniſterial job. He mentioned the predatory war which government had made againſt America, and enlarged on the proclamation which the King's Commiſſioners publiſhed across the Atlantic, and to which he had the beginning of laſt ſeſſions called the attention of their Lordſhips [40. 669.]. He deemed it an accurſed manifeſto; and declared, that the whole conduct of the American war had been diſgraceful to the Britiſh arms, and contrary to the practice of all civilized countries.—He concluded with an amendment to the addreſs, to follow after the firſt paragraph: "To beſeech his Majeſty to reflect upon the extent of territory, the power, the opulence, the reputation abroad, and the concord at home, which diſtinguiſhed the opening of his Majeſty's reign, and marked it as the moſt ſplendid and happy period in the hiſtory of this nation; and to turn his eyes on the endangered, impoveriſhed, enfeebled, diſtracted, and even diſmembered ſtate of the whole, after all the grants of ſucceſſive parliaments, liberal to profuſion, and truſting to the very utmoſt extent of national confidence. His Majeſty will naturally expect to receive the honeſt opinion of a faithful and affectionate parliament; who would betray his Majeſty, and their country, if they did not diſtinctly ſtate to his Majeſty, that if any thing can prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it can be only new counſels and new counſellors, without further loſs of time; a real change, from a ſincere conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation,

palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs."

Lord Stormont expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the extraordinary tenor of the amendment that had juſt been moved. He could eaſily perceive a motive why preſent counſellors might be wiſhed removed; but why all the remote councils of the kingdom ſhould be reſcinded and reprobated, he could find neither cauſe nor inducement for. Was this a time, when all parties coincided that the times were perilous, and that we had infinite difficulties to ſtruggle with, to inform the world, that we were not only diſpleaſed with the living adminiſtration, but diſſatisfied with what had been the eſtabliſhed government of the kingdom? What kind of inference would ſuch a proceeding carry with it? what kind of invitation did it not hold out? —The amendment had another defect in it ſtill more reprehenſible;—it was manifeſtly perſonal;—it was pointed to a certain great individual, and inſinuated invectives againſt that quarter, that were neither juſt nor proper, and ſuch as he ſhould have the leaſt ſuſpected to have originated from the Noble Marquis who produced them.—— A ſyſtem his Lordſhip ſaid was adopted with reſpect to Ireland, which he did not doubt would give ſatisfaction to both kingdoms; and miniſtry wanted nothing but the ſupport of parliament to enable them to carry on the war with vigour againſt the united houſe of Bourbon.

Lord Carliſle ſaid, the perſonal alluſion to him, as a commiſſioner employed in America, and the harſh epithets beſtowed upon that inſtrument to which his name was affixed, made it neceſſary for him to free himſelf from the accuſation of promoting a ſyſtem of unexampled cruelty. He ventured to declare, that the forced conſtruction put upon that manifeſto, by thoſe who were pleaſed to arraign it, originated in their total ignorance of the manner in which the American war had been conducted. To prove that the war was carried on with a clemency and forbearance as unuſual, and as ſingular, as it was generous, he demanded the attention of the Houſe to ſome occurrences to which he himſelf was an eye-witneſs.—After he joined the army in Philadelphia, with all the naval armament collected in the river Delaware, for the purpoſe of evacuating that city, little or no intercourſe was had with the neighbouring ſhore; men expiring with the ſcurvy were ſeldom landed; and freſh proviſions either abſolutely denied, or brought under cover of the night, at the hazard of the lives of thoſe who tranſported them, to the fleet: no veſſel paſſed without being fired at, and many of our men were captured and wounded. All this was tolerated, when the farms and villages of thoſe who oppoſed us were lying under our very guns. He was far from finding fault with this ſyſtem of extraordinary clemency; and had no doubt but the reaſons which actuated the commander in chief were not only founded in humanity, but wiſdom: ſtill he muſt ſay, it was an unuſual ſyſtem of lenity, and not according to the common modes of making war.—What was the conduct of the King's troops in their march though the Jerſeys? The ſame gentleneſs and moderation prevailed.—Mr Burgoyne, in his proclamation, inſiſts, and not in very gentle terms [39. 369.], that the inhabitants ſhould be quiet ſpectators of his expedition; and that quitting their houſes, or driving the country, would be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences to them. He did not recollect, that Mr Burgoyne's proclamation had excited the popular reſentment; if it had, he was ignorant of it.—In Sir Henry Clinton's march, the country was inimical to a man: every inhabitant capable of bearing arms, had fled to the ſtandard of the enemy, or ſecreted himſelf; the country was cleared of cattle; and to add to theſe provocations and diſtreſſes, when our men had been fighting under a mid-day ſun, with the thermometer, ſtanding in the ſhade, at ninety-ſix, they found the ropes of the wells cut by thoſe who had deſerted their dwellings, in order that our ſoldiers might expire with thirſt. What was the conſequence of theſe provocations? A continuance of the ſame lenity, the ſame forbearance; and, if he was rightly informed, there was no retaliation for theſe injuries, not a ſingle houſe demoliſhed or burned upon that account.—Was it to be expected that the ſame ſyſtem was to be continued when the French alliance had been powerful enough to induce America to reject all offers of peace, and had made every hope of accommodation vain? If the tobacco of America was to be the coin by which that country was to repay France for her ſuccour, he was not aſhamed to wiſh that it might never come to maturity:

if

if the wheat of America was to be converted into biſcuit for the uſe of the French fleet, he ſhould never lament any means that were taken to prevent that neceſſary ſupply from reaching it; if the towns of America were to receive the garriſons of France, as an Engliſhman he ſhould feel ſatisfaction in hearing they were diſmantled. It was fair and juſt to America to appriſe her of the conſequences of her new connection, and that war would return into its uſual and accuſtomed channel.—If it is aſſerted, that, in the inſtrument alluded to, the colouring is too ſtrong, and the ſtrokes bold, it requires little pains to convince a candid mind, that it was not a vindictive zeal to deſtroy, but a ſincere and honeſt wiſh to deter, which directed the pencil. In the fulleſt manner he avowed every principle and ſentiment contained in that inſtrument: ſatisfied in his conſcience with the motives that impelled him to take the part he did upon that occaſion, he had never ſuffered an uneaſy moment by the recollection of its utterance; and he was convinced, that to the lateſt hour of his life he never ſhould.

Lord Coventry obſerved, he had made many prophecies of what would be the conſequence of perſevering in the American war, and unfortunately every one of his prophecies had been fulfilled. He lamented that it ſhould ever have been begun, much more that it ſhould be continued with ſuch obſtinacy; and declared, that had the Houſe paid attention to the propoſitions which he informed them laſt ſeſſions that he was authorized to make from two perſons of authority and influence in America, we ſhould have been at this hour in peace with America. His Lordſhip concluded with earneſtly exhorting adminiſtration to abandon all thoughts of proſecuting any longer the war acroſs the Atlantic, as it would only aggravate the calamities which ſurrounded us, and perhaps end in the total ruin of Great Britain.

Lord Lyttelton deſired their Lordſhips to turn their eyes for a moment to the preſent ſtate of Ireland, to reflect on the crying neceſſities and bankrupt ſtate of its inhabitants, and to advert to the numbers of armed men in that kingdom, under aſſociations, not in the pay of, or even recogniſed by government. He had lately been in that country, and had endeavoured to obtain an authentic account of every particular reſpecting theſe aſſociations; and as near as he could aſcertain, there were at this time 42,000 men in arms; of which number nearly 25,000 were as well trained and diſciplined as our militia after they had been embodied a twelvemonth. He had inquired into the original motive of their arming themſelves, and found, at firſt they did it under the idea of protecting themſelves from foreign enemies: they had written to government, and deſired to have ſome force ſent into the country for its defence: government had given for anſwer, "That they could not ſpare any force, and that they muſt take care of themſelves." They had ſince endeavoured to obtain the ſanction of government, but the Chancellor of Ireland, (Lord Liſford), and Lord Annaly, the Chief Juſtice of the king's-bench, oppoſed it, upon the principle, That levying men in Ireland without the authority of parliament, was contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution.—It is our intereſt to come directly to a compromiſe with Ireland. What is to be done for her? and when? The aſſociations, originally armed for the defence of the country againſt foreign foes, within theſe two months have declared that they would alſo hold their arms ready to be turned againſt domeſtic enemies. They are the Whigs of Ireland, men who deteſt tyranny, and execrate deſpotiſm; who conſider paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance as the ſlaviſh doctrine enforced only by tyrants, and to which none but beings loſt to every ſenſe of manly feeling, and unworthy to enjoy the bleſſings of freedom, would ſubmit. They complain of oppreſſion: oppreſſion has had its effect; and they are plunged into deſpair from the penury which it has entailed on them; they can bear it no longer, and they are ready to change their taſk-maſters. This conveys a ſtrong impreſſion, not only of the preſent temper of Ireland, but what may be her future views. Give her, therefore, a free trade; let no local intereſts curb your generoſity; be liberal with a good grace, unload her penſion-liſt, lighten her burthen, and enable her to aſſiſt you, not in miniſterial jobs, not in granting convenient ſinecures to men who have not done their country public ſervice, but in the great eſſential points and conſiderations of a government wiſely conducted, and founded on true conſtitutional principles.

Lord Hilſborough ſpoke to the following

lowing purport. "My Lords, I have this day accepted of the ſeals, as one of his Majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate. I here profeſs myſelf a miniſter, and acknowledge a peculiar reſponſibility for my conduct. It becomes me, therefore, to be well acquainted with the circumſtances under which I am to act. I was aware of this, and took good care to appriſe myſelf of every condition or appendage to my employment before I agreed to accept it. In particular, I was cautious to inform myſelf of what were the reſolutions of adminiſtration with reſpect to Ireland, and to require a complete and ample explanation of their intentions on that head, before I ventured to ſignify my acquieſcence in the preferment preſented to me. Knowing theſe reſolutions and intentions, I will name them fully and boldly: I hate ſkulking, and will never concur in a meaſure where ſuch a protection is required. The views of adminiſtration in the preſent inſtance, are not however ſuch as require concealment; they are fair, juſt, and honourable; and therefore may brave the light. —The Noble Lord aſks, what is to be done as to the trade of Ireland? I will tell the Noble Lord what is to be done, ſo far as the King's miniſters can do it. An equal trade is to be granted them; they are, if the warmeſt efforts of adminiſtration can effect it, to be put on a ſimilar footing, as to their commerce, with this country itſelf, and be permitted to enjoy what muſt ſatisfy the moſt extravagant of their ſupplicants, all the common immunities which are extended to the other members of the ſtate. Can they aſk for more? Would any Noble Lord wiſh them to have more? Is there any one ſo abſurd or ſo unjuſt as to riſe and ſay, The ſubjects in Ireland ought to be indulged in greater privileges than the ſubjects of England? As much they will be offered; more cannot be wiſhed for. It is not the intention of the preſent government, deſpotic as they have been deſcribed, to treat Ireland with the haughty air of an imperious miſtreſs, but to invite her into amity by all the good-natured offices and kind intentions of a ſiſter. I deſire, my Lords, to be fairly and unequivocally underſtood. Adminiſtration hold out to Ireland an equal trade in the plain, unambiguous ſenſe of the phraſe, and are only deſirous to bear in the commercial ſcale a ſimilar balance with her."—His Lordſhip then juſtified the aſſociations in Ireland, and the loyalty of the reſt of the people. In adverting to the amendment, he took occaſion to mention, that he was educated a Whig, and profeſſed himſelf one, but not a modern Whig. He then declared his wiſh to ſee the ableſt men in the kingdom employed in the miniſtry; but ſaid, he did not know where now to find thoſe bright and ſhining abilities ſo much talked of: if thoſe who thought they they poſſeſſed them, would ſtand forth, and offer better ſyſtems of government, and better means of extricating the nation from its preſent great difficulties, he ſhould be heartily glad to ſee them employed; but moſt of the Lords he ſaw in oppoſition to the preſent miniſtry had, by turns, been in adminiſtration, yet he could not find that the nation had benefited much by their counſels. His Lordſhip therefore concluded, that he ſhould keep his place till he found a better or more able man to fill it.

The Biſhop of Peterborough delivered a ſhort pathetic exhortation to the Houſe, founded on the general ſtate of the nation. He told their Lordſhips, that the mortification was begun, and inſtant death would follow, if a remedy was not immediately applied. Raiſed to a ſtation of life far above his expectations, he ſaid he had no other intereſt to purſue, but that of performing his duty in it; and he could not ſit ſtill while the nation was declining from various cauſes, and haſtening to its ruin. His Lordſhip mentioned domeſtic diſſenſions as a principal cauſe; diſagreements in the cabinet, in the field, and in the fleets; he alſo hinted at ſome dangerous religious aſſociations in this kingdom. The dangerous ſtate of public credit, and the weight of taxes, which muſt be increaſed without end, while the American conteſt laſted, were ſubjects he recommended to their Lordſhips; and he likewiſe implored them to apply ſome remedy to the general diſſipation of the times.

The Earl of Shelburne, on the ſubject of Ireland, expreſſed himſelf by no means ſatisfied with the preſent promiſes of miniſters: the ſame had been made laſt year, but nothing had been done; now he feared it might be too late. The King's Lord Lieutenant in that country, he ſaid, had abdicated the government, and he himſelf ſtood indebted for every ſhilling he received from that country.

to

to the aſſociations, to whom he was much obliged: but he thought ſuch a force capable of commanding a free trade, or whatever elſe they thought proper. His Lordſhip ſtated the land and ſea force at Jamaica, which he ſaid was inadequate to its defence; and he added, that the Governor, the Houſe of Aſſembly, the regulars, and the militia, were all at variance. The Lieutenant-Governor, he informed the Houſe, is in London, drinking his champaign, and enjoying lucrative poſts under the crown. Even a new place, the government of the iſle of Man, had been found out for him, whilſt his duty at Jamaica is performed by a captain of a man of war. His Lordſhip concluded by declaring, that not only new counſellors, but a new ſyſtem of government ought to take place; and therefore he was for the amendment.

The Duke of Richmond entered very deeply into the miſconduct of the army-department, and called upon the commander in chief to know why, on the day the French appeared off Plymouth, there was not a gun ſupplied with ammunition, not a ſponge, nor a match in any of the batteries, and but thirty-ſix men to work 500 guns: yet the commander in chief had been there, and viſited the garriſon a ſhort time before. His Grace ſaid, if the French had ſailed into the Hamoaze that day, they might have deſtroyed the dock, and might have taken the town, for it was quite defenceleſs. He further informed the Houſe, that the works ſince made were ineffectual to its ſecurity, and ſuch as were a diſgrace to thoſe that ordered them; and that repreſentations had been made by ſeveral general officers, of the want of forts on Mount Pleaſant and Torr-point, without which an enemy's fleet might ſet fire to the dock, which now contains five millions of property in naval ſtores; and he deſired to know why it was not done.—His Grace complained, that the Governor of Plymouth was not at his poſt when the French were there. As to the conduct of our fleet in running away from the French fleet in the channel, both the Duke and Lord Shelburne declared it to be an indelible diſgrace to the nation.

Lord Amherſt ſaid, he had been at Plymouth, and had given proper orders, and that there had been 15,000 barrels of powder in the forts ſince June. As to the works mentioned by the Duke, they were large, and required much time, but they were conſtructing.

Lord Sandwich juſtified the conduct of Sir Charles Hardy in not engaging the French fleet: he ſaid our fleet had anſwered all the purpoſes it was deſigned to effect; it had protected our trade, and prevented an invaſion, and was now whole and entire, fit for future ſervice, and, he thanked God, ſafe in port.

The Lord Chancellor called the attention of the Houſe to the buſineſs of the day. He appealed to their own conſideration, which was moſt becoming that Houſe, circumſtanced as the times were, to anſwer his Majeſty's ſpeech with a decent and loyal addreſs, or, by an amendment drawn up in a manner the moſt ſtudiouſly ſullen and moroſe, to deny him any aſſiſtance. He ridiculed all that had been ſaid about Whigs and Whiggiſm; declaring, that no perſon whatever ſhould beat nonſenſe into his head; that he defied any two Lords preciſely to explain to him what Whiggiſm meant, becauſe that each would annex to it different ideas; and aſſerted, that all men ſhould be tried by their words and deeds, their reſolutions and their actions, and not by fantaſtic words, which bore no meaning analogous either to ſenſe or reaſon.

Lord Camden ſpoke in reply to the Lord Chancellor; and at about a quarter paſt one the queſtion was called for; when, on a diviſion, the numbers were, for the addreſs 82, againſt it 41.

In the Houſe of Commons the addreſs was moved for by Lord Lewiſham, and the motion was ſeconded by Lord Parker. —— Lord John Cavendiſh moved for an amendment, to beſeech the King to make a total change of men and meaſures. Mr James Grenville ſeconded Lord John Cavendiſh's motion. After a long, keen debate, the motion for the addreſs carried, 234 to 133.

Mr Adam having taken exception at ſomething ſaid by Mr Fox in this debate, gave him a challenge. Each fired two piſtols, Mr Fox's laſt in the air. Then Mr Fox having declared, he meant no more perſonal affront to Mr Adam than he did to either of the gentlemen preſent (their two ſeconds); Mr Adam replied, "Sir, you have behaved like a man of honour;" and ſo the affair ended. Mr Fox received a ſlight wound, which was not perceived till the affair was over.

The

The SPANISH MANIFESTO.

Setting forth the motives which induced the King of Spain to commence hoſtilities againſt England.

Publiſhed at Madrid, by order of the King.

IT would be too long to relate minutely all the grievances which Spain might complain of ſince the concluſion of the treaty of peace in 1763; for that reaſon we ſhall reſtrain ourſelves to the greater ones, and thoſe moſt recent, leſt we ſhould be accuſed of reviving old injuries already forgotton. By the 16th article of the preliminaries [14. 572.] of that treaty, England acknowledged the bay of Honduras as making part of the Spaniſh dominions, and bound itſelf to cauſe every fortification that had been erected by its ſubjects in that part of the world, to be demoliſhed within four months after the ratification of the treaty; without reſerving to the court of London any other right than that of being permitted to cut log-wood, without any moleſtation or hindrance; and for which purpoſe, its workmen were to be allowed only the houſes and barracks eſſentially neceſſary to them. None of theſe ſtipulations have been performed by the Engliſh: they have introduced themſelves more and more into the ancient ſettlements, beyond the limits allotted them, and have excited a rebellion among the native Indians, providing them with arms, and giving them every ſuccour and aſſiſtance under the protection of G. Britain.

Not ſatisfied with theſe violences, they have eſtabliſhed themſelves in many other ports, rivers, and coaſts of the Spaniſh territory in the ſaid bay of Honduras; in which places they could not even alledge the ſpecious pretence of cutting log-wood, but manifeſtly with a deſign of uſurping foreign dominion, and of ſmuggling various merchandiſes, without any reſtriction. The names of theſe places whither they went, are, El Pincho, Rio Tinto, Rio Matina, and many others. They have trained up bodies of militia to arms, and have given the King of England's brevet, or commiſſion, of Captain-General of all theſe ſettlements or eſtabliſhments to Jacob Loury; which brevet or paſſport, together with many other patents or commiſſions to ſubaltern officers, was ſolemnly read to the whole colony on the 21ſt of September 1776, before the troops and people. All theſe proceedings of the Engliſh were diſcovered by the Spaniards, at a time when the Britiſh miniſtry had declared, that thoſe incroachments and ſettlements had been made without their approbation, or the ſanction of their authority.

The Engliſh ſettlers found out artifices and various perfidious means to prevail on the chief or leader, to revolt againſt Spain, and to ſtyle himſelf King of the Moſquito Indians; and perſuaded him to take the title of Captain in Chief of the other Indians, whoſe leaders have ſent commiſſioners to the viceroy of the Spaniſh government, acknowledging themſelves as vaſſals of his Catholic Majeſty: beſides which, the Engliſh ſupplied them with arms, and gave them all kind of aſſiſtance to prevent their ſeeking the protection of Spain, who has an immediate right upon the dominion of thoſe territories. Moreover, though foreigners of all denominations, let their religion be what it will, be well received in all the Engliſh ſettlements of America, the Spaniards only have been refuſed admittance, they being either impriſoned, or driven away.

The better to prove the uniform deſign England had always harboured of becoming maſters of theſe extenſive territories, to lay there the foundation of its ſettlements, and to augment every day the immenſe prohibited commerce carried on by its ſubjects in the interior parts of the Spaniſh provinces, we need but relate what happened in the year 1775. That a certain phyſician, famous for his voyage round the world, known by the name of *Dr Irwin*, left England, having with him all kinds of tools for agriculture, ſeveral artiſts, and many other ſuccours found by the Britiſh miniſtry, to the end and purpoſe of making a laſting ſettlement in the province of Nacha: wherein he landed ſeveral families, and ſeveral more were ſoon to follow them. With that intention, the ſaid Doctor had brought up and educated in his own houſe a ſon of an Indian King, and two Indians of note in theſe countries. The Spaniſh guarda-coſtas were ſoon appriſed of the Doctor's imbarkation; and the Britiſh miniſtry, inſtead of giving redreſs to remonſtrances for that breach of the treaty, threatened Spain with a war.

Laſt year, in the month of November, ſome Spaniards happened to ſettle themſelves on the river St John, on the ſame coaſt of Moſquito, upon which they built ſome houſes; and, when they leaſt expected it, they were attacked by a party of Engliſh, and another party of Indians; in that conflict, the Captain of the ſhip was wounded, moſt of his people were put in priſon, and many other violences were offered. While that was tranſacting, the negotiation of peace, then on the carpet, was carried on with the greateſt anxiety by his Majeſty, for the benefit of England; and he was ſtraining every nerve to make it ſucceed. No other proof is required to eſtabliſh the eſſential difference between the proceedings of the court of London, its miniſters and ſubjects, and the generous and magnanimous conduct of his Catholic Majeſty.

Where-ever they ſet their feet for the pur-

poſes of ſettlement, the Engliſh behave in the ſame manner. For example, on the coaſt of St Blas, a province of the Darien, they engaged the Indians that inhabit the frontiers of the Spaniſh ſettlements, to raiſe a revolt; and, after giving them all ſuccours, enticed and drew them to their ſide, by decorating them with pompous patents and brevets, or commiſſions of command, under the protection of G. Britain. A like commiſſion was granted to one Chief of the Indians, named *Bernard*, to whom the Governor of Jamaica ſent a formal patent or commiſſion, and in which he was ſtyled Captain-General of that coaſt. That proceeding was alſo diſcovered at the beginning of the preſent year, and complained of the 8th of March to the Engliſh miniſtry; who, pretending to be unacquainted with it, anſwered it in their uſual manner.

Many have been the attempts made by the Engliſh, within theſe few years, to drive into rebellion againſt Spain, thoſe nations of India, their allies, and friends, who inhabit the lands contiguous to Louiſiana: one while they regularly provided them with arms; at other times they bribed them with preſents, and honoured them with patents and Engliſh medals, &c. &c.; and, finally, inſtigated them to join the Engliſh troops to commit hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty.

Applications have been regularly made to the court of London, on different occaſions, for the redreſs of various offences of that nature: and though its anſwers have been made in general terms, ſuch as theſe, "We ſhall take notice of that, and ſend the neceſſary orders," Spain has not yet ſeen the alteration which ſhe expected in all reaſon and juſtice.

On the contrary, the court of London, under pretence of its war with the American States, and forgetting the exact impartiality obſerved by the Spaniſh colonies, as to the good reception the Engliſh have always met with therein, they have committed, both by land and ſea, the moſt grievous inſults; having even threatened with deſtruction a frigate of war in the very capital town of New Orleans.

Soon after this, and in the months of June and July of the year 1778, the Engliſh prompted the Caracas, Miraquies, and Micathas Indians, to raiſe a rebellion, paying to each Indian the value of a ſkin of veniſon a-day, and inducing them to fall upon, with the natural and brutal cruelty of thoſe barbarous nations, and deſtroy the Spaniſh ſettlements; notwithſtanding the treaty of peace then in force between Spain and England, and the pacific diſpoſition of the King, and his impartial and upright conduct in regard to the diſturbances of America, and the hoſtilities committed againſt France. To the purpoſe aforeſaid, the Indians were to have repaired to, and aſſembled in a place called the *Natches*, with a body of Engliſh well armed. But a happy circumſtance prevented this barbarous project from taking place: two of thoſe nations, convinced, without doubt, of the injuſtice they were going to commit, every way repugnant to the rights of men, and to the good treatment they had always received from the Spaniards, withdrew, and thus diſcountenanced the reſt.

Some inhabitants of the Spaniſh dominions were carried away, others were offered all ſorts of violence, and many were compelled to carry arms and war againſt the Americans; particularly in one, among many other inſtances of our ſubjects, a young man, named *Livois*, the ſon of a captain of one of our Spaniſh colonies.

By the laſt news we have received the original letters of the Engliſh commander Hamilton, in which he threatened to enter the Spaniſh territories, as has been related in the gazette of Madrid of the 20th of July, at the article of *La Havanna*: it appeared moreover, by thoſe letters, that the Britiſh government had given orders to build many fortreſſes, and in particular a ſolid and permanent one at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, near the lake of Iberville; which proceeding alone would be ſufficient to bring to light the deſigns of the court of London againſt the Spaniſh dominions, ſince the ſaid fortreſs could by no means moleſt the Americans, but would be highly prejudicial to the Spaniſh nation.

To the above purpoſe we muſt not omit, that in the month of May in the year 1778, Don Franciſco Eſcarano, the Spaniſh Charge des Affaires, came to London, to complain, that the Engliſh had inſtigated the Indians, called *Poſcagulas*, whoſe habitations are contiguous to Louiſiana, to ſhake off the obedience they owe to the King, by giving them commiſſions of Captains in the ſervice of his Britannic Majeſty, and decorating them with orders and medals. We ſhould never have done, if we would relate, with their circumſtances, theſe, and many more infringements of the treaties, violences, and uſurpations executed theſe late years by the Engliſh government againſt the Spaniſh dominions.

2. Spain gave, in regard to prizes, orders ſimilar to thoſe of France; and it cauſed them to be put in execution with ſo much rigour and exactneſs, that ſeveral American privateers, and among others the famous Cunningham, exaſperated againſt Spain, retaliated, by uſing the Spaniards very ill, and making upon them reprifals, which have not as yet been delivered back, though often aſked for.

3. Neither ought motives of jealouſy, or the

the thirſt of diſcord, to have prevailed upon the Engliſh ſo much, as to make them loſe any ſenſe of juſtice, gratitude, or reſpect in regard to Spain, conſidering that this laſt could carry on but little or no trade with the Engliſh Americans, having already enough of that it carries on with its own poſſeſſions in America, and being amply provided with every neceſſary by the ſame. Nevertheleſs the court of London, with an intention of keeping at hand a ſpecious pretence for a rupture whenever its projects ſhould be in maturity, affected a great uneaſineſs on account of the mercantile correſpondence carried on between ſome merchants of Bilboa and others with the Engliſh colonies, though that correſpondence had begun ſeveral years before their rupture with the mother-country. The Engliſh miniſtry diſcovered the ſame uneaſineſs for a like mercantile correſpondence carried on by ſome French merchants of Louiſiana with the Americans; and pretended to call the Spaniſh government to an account for that contravention of its own laws in that part of the world, at the very time when the ſubjects of England, called the Royaliſts, were found in the ſame contravention on the Spaniſh coaſts of the Miſſiſippi and Louiſiana, making a traffick of ſmuggled goods: many of them were taken up, and great complaints have been made for the ſame. The Engliſh commanders of thoſe parts pretended proudly, that the inhabitants proſecuted by them ſhould not be allowed to take refuge at Louiſiana, if they ſhould flee there; while the Royaliſts were welcome there, and were under no apprehenſions either for their lives or properties; for which generous dealing ſeveral of them returned thanks to the Spaniſh government by word of mouth, and in writing. The Spaniſh government did not confine itſelf to thoſe tokens of humanity. Having heard of a great ſcarcity of flour prevailing at Penſacola, it ſpontaneouſly ſent a good quantity of it into that place. — Threats, violences, and the hoſtile proceedings laid down in the foregoing articles, are the only thanks the miniſtry and the Engliſh nation gave for the ſame.

4. For fear we ſhould be detained in the enumeration of the events anterior to theſe late times, we ſhall only ſay, that the inſults offered by the Engliſh navy to the Spaniſh navigation and trade, from the year 1776 till the beginning of the preſent year 1779, were already eighty-ſix in number, including prizes taken by unjuſt practices, piracy, and robberies of various effects out of the veſſels; attacks made with gun-firing, and other incredible violences. Since the ſaid month of March, and notwithſtanding the memorial preſented by the ambaſſador, Marquis de Almadovar, on the 14th of the ſame month, in which he complained of the principal grievances, and revived the memorials that had preceded, three Spaniſh ſhips were taken by the Engliſh, on the 12th, 19th, and 26th of April, viz. the Noſtra Sra de la Conception, the La Virgen de Gracia, and the Las Almas: which proceeding, together with the other inſults, of which a detail was ſent to the ſame ambaſſador, in order to be laid before the Engliſh miniſtry, were ſufficient motives for the ambaſſador to aſſert, in his final declaration preſented to the miniſtry on the 16th day of June, that the grievances of the late years did not fall much ſhort of a hundred. [316.]

5. In the two laſt years, and till the beginning of March of the preſent year, the Engliſh navy has inſulted at twelve different times, in the European and American ſeas, the ſhips of his Catholic Majeſty, among which were packets, and other ſmall veſſels, that had not a competent force to reſiſt. It makes one bluſh to deſcribe with what indecency and ignominy the King's flag was treated by the Engliſh officers in thoſe and other ſimilar caſes. We ſhall only relate the tranſaction of the 31ſt of October of the laſt year, when an officer having been diſpatched by two Engliſh frigates to reconnoitre the Spaniſh ſloop, named Noſtra Signora de la Eſclavitud, between the iſles of La Mona and La Saona, he obliged it to ſtrike his Majeſty's flag, and then, taking it, he wiped the ſweat off his face with its coat of arms, to ſhew a greater contempt for it. This ſingular officer, with his companions, plundered the ſhip, and ſtript the ſeamen of ſundry things eſſentially neceſſary to their uſe.

6. The Engliſh nation entered the Spaniſh territories eleven times within a few years paſt. Among thoſe attempts, one deſerves a particular notice, viz. what was performed on the 30th of April 1777, by the long-boats of three Engliſh frigates, then lying in the bay of Gibraltar, which fired at the King's cutter, and at the guard-houſe that was on the bridge Mayorga, and carried away the crew and the goods of a bark which had been taken by the ſaid cutter on ſuſpicion of ſmuggling tobacco and money. After they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole, they retired, diſplaying affected civilities, and taking off their hats out of deriſion.

7. The complaints of the court of Spain have been as many as the inſults offered; memorials having been repeatedly preſented from time to time in London and in Madrid; ſo that they might be ſaid to have been innumerable. Nevertheleſs the King of England told his parliament [317.], that many of them never came to his knowledge; adding, moreover, that he was fully convinced he had never given occaſion for the unjuſt proceedings of Spain. We now lay it over

again, complaints have been ſo repeatedly made, that on the 5th of February 1778, Don Franciſco Eſcarano having expoſed and ſhewn ſome of them in writing to Lord Weymouth, did expreſs plainly how tired he was of preſenting ſo many, by ſaying, "That it appeared as if all the captains of ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty had agreed about the mode of bad behaviour to thoſe of the King and of the Spaniſh nation; ſince it was known by a conſtant experience, that the Engliſh ſhips always began by firing their guns at ours with bullets; then their officers came on board to regiſter them; put the ſeamen in irons, or confined them under the hatches of the ſhip; did not in the leaſt ſcruple to carry away what goods they had a fancy to; and when they parted from us, bid us farewell by another cannonading with ſmall ſhot: That the Spaniſh ſhips, and eſpecially the packet-boats, which are provided with guns, might have repelled theſe inſults by force; but that they never did it, on account of the remarkable ſtrict orders they had from the Spaniſh government, which was anxious to live in the beſt harmony with the Engliſh nation: and that, finally, by comparing the exceſſive moderation of Spain with the frequent affronts [illegible]ed by the Engliſh navy, his Lordſhip will be able to judge, whether they ought not to have been paid attention to, and whether they [illegible]t call aloud for redreſs."

Thoſe were the expreſſions made uſe of by Spain in February 1778. Let us now ſee what that court ſaid on the 14th of March of the preſent year, by the channel of the Marquis d'Almadovar, in a memorial written for that purpoſe to the Viſcount Weymouth.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador, after referring to two caſes that had been anſwered by the Engliſh miniſter, proceeds in this manner: "The King could not help to remark, that, from all the complaints made to the Engliſh miniſtry by his orders for theſe two years, theſe two caſes only met with a clear inſtructive anſwer. His Majeſty took into conſideration the motives of the anſwer of the 13th of January, and excuſes the delay alledged, as to the tranſaction that happened in America; but he does not ſee, why any change in the deſtination of the ſhips, the death of the commanders, or the recal of the admirals, to whom the orders were directed, ſhould have prevented the verification longed for: ſuch were, however, the motives or pretences alledged. If the captains were dead, or if the ſhips had changed their ſtation, had even thoſe changes and alterations been univerſal, and had they happened preciſely at the time when the verification ſhould have taken place, the command of the places near which the tranſactions happened, were, nevertheleſs, in the ſame hands, and there it was they ſhould have been inquired into. Suppoſe the officers had been changed, the exerciſe of their function was not interrupted, and the tribunals of the diſtricts, who ought to have known of matters of that ſort, were ſtill ſubſiſting. Since that time, ſome of the captains who commanded the ſhips that either took or treated ill the Spaniſh veſſels, came over to England, and they might have been interrogated upon many articles."

The Marquis d'Almadovar continued to make obſervations upon particular caſes, and concluded his memorial in this manner: "In a word, had even every circumſtance concurred to hinder or delay the inſtruction which the Britiſh miniſtry deſired, previous to its giving redreſs to my court, the King, my maſter, thought at leaſt, that orders ſent by his Britannic Majeſty to his officers ſhould have ſtopped the continuance of thoſe vexations: ſo far from it, advice is continually received at Madrid of recent injuries, there having been ſent to me from thence the relation of ſome of them, with injunction to communicate them to your Lordſhip. In compliance, therefore, with thoſe orders, I have the honour to include the relation hereunto annexed, containing the moſt notorious facts, omitting others, for fear of multiplying complaints, though they are equally well founded in truth. Your Lordſhip will know from this the importance of thoſe complaints, and the neceſſity of accelerating, as much as poſſible, the ſatisfaction which the King, my maſter, flatters himſelf he ſhall obtain from the juſtice and equity of his Britannic Majeſty."

This memorial, given in in the month of March, produced nothing but fine promiſes on the part of the Engliſh miniſtry, without preventing the making prizes and committing other inſults in the months of April and May following, which was hinted at before in the fourth article. We may reaſonably queſtion, whether the Engliſh miniſtry ever took the trouble to read the notes or enumeration of the grievances; and if not, the reaſon is obvious, why his Britannic Majeſty had never been informed of them, as he was pleaſed to announce to his parliament.

Spain was more fortunate with the Engliſh government, becauſe this laſt never denied facts, but always made good offers, though ſuch as never were productive of a complete redreſs, or even prevented the uſual vexations. All the European powers know very well the practices of the Engliſh navy in its depredations; what country has not experienced them, either in the preſent, or the late war between France and England? but they did not know, nor could they have imagined,

magined, that the captain of the Engliſh frigate or ſloop of war the Zephyr, commanded by Thomas Haſth, after taking by unjuſt means the Spaniſh ſhip La Trinidad, going from Bilboa to Cadiz, towards the end of 1777, loaded with leather, nails, iron, and other goods, ſhould carry her into Tangiers, and there try to exchange her for an American brigantine, (which had been taken by a corſair of Morocco), leaving the captain, pilot, and all the mariners for ſlaves. Happily, however, the Moors did not accept of that propoſal; and the ſhip was conducted to the bay of Gibraltar; and there being no kind of pretence to declare her a lawful prize, they abandoned her, after having plundered a great deal of her cargo: the ſhip, however, ſuffered ſo much in the action when taken, that having met with a gale of wind near Gibraltar, ſhe could not hold it out, but was ſhipwrecked on the coaſts. No faith would be given to a fact of that nature, if the truth of it were not ſo well eſtabliſhed; and no body could ever imagine, that a nation ſo learned and improved as the Engliſh are, ſhould bring up and employ ſea-officers poſſeſſing ſuch principles.

9. The injuſtice of the ſentences pronounced by the Engliſh judges of the admiralty, and their extravagant conduct, may be aſcertained by the two following caſes. — The Engliſh cutter the Lively, commanded by Joſeph Smith, took the Spaniſh ſhip the St Nicholas and St Celmo, (the property of Don Manuel del Cervo Rubio, an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of La Carugna), bound from that port to the Spaniſh iſles. The Engliſh captain carried her to the iſland of Anguilla; where it was declared ſhe was not a legal prize: and having been releaſed, the Engliſh governor gave her a paſſport to continue her voyage unmoleſted. That precaution, however, did not avail to her: for at her going out of port, another Engliſh ſloop of war took her, and carried her into St Chriſtopher's, to the port of Baſſeterre; in which place ſhe was ſentenced to be a legal prize. — The Spaniſh packet-boat, the St Pedro, commander Capt. Francisco Xavier Garcia, had the ſame lot ſince, having been taken on the 8th of May 1778, by the Engliſh Capt. James Dunnovan, and carried into the ſame iſle of Anguilla: ſhe was there declared an illegal prize; but, at her departure, another Engliſh cruiſer, Capt. Joſeph Armet, which happened be in the ſame port, retook her, and carried her into St Chriſtopher's, where ſhe was ſentenced a legal prize, as the former had been.

10. No other power has experienced, like Spain, the aggreſſions and uſurpations of the Engliſh government, made in the time of the moſt profound peace, and without any previous declaration of war. There is hardly one of thoſe Engliſh territories which formerly belonged to Spain, that has not been taken by ſurpriſe in time of peace; and all the ſeas may be witneſſes, that when the Spaniſh ſhips were beaten or taken, there was no reaſon to believe they ſhould be attacked. It has been a practice with no other cabinet but the Engliſh, to conclude a treaty with Spain, and immediately after to commit the greateſt hoſtilities, that treaty notwithſtanding. After ſuch a conduct, we leave it to the conſideration of the impartial world to decide, if the King was wrong to augment his naval forces, and to fruſtrate, by anticipation, the deſigns of his enemies.

11. No motives whatever ſhould have hindered England to give redreſs to Spain, to have prevented new inſults, and return it the gratitude it deſerves; ſince, in ſpite of the projects and public threats of ſeveral members of the Engliſh parliament, in the ſeſſion of the months of December 1777, and January and February 1778, (who propoſed to ſettle the diſputes with the Americans in order to make war againſt the Houſe of Bourbon), the Catholic King never would make any treaty with the colonies, for fear of giving to the court of London the leaſt pretence for complaints. We do not by this mean to ſay, that the French miniſtry had not the ſtrongeſt reaſons to fear new enemies, and conſequently to prevent the hoſtile deſigns of the Britiſh cabinet.

12. The French court behaved with ſo much candour and ſincerity in the treaty made with the Americans, (of which, however, the Catholic King knew nothing then), that the ſame court declared, by its ambaſſador in London, that Spain had no hand at all in it. Notwithſtanding this, by orders diſpatched to Don Franciſco Eſcarano, the Spaniſh Charge des Affaires in London, on the 24th of March, he had inſtructions, among other things, to declare to the Engliſh miniſtry, that though his Catholic Majeſty had taken no ſhare in what had happened between France and America, and was ſtill reſolved to preſerve the peace, this was to be underſtood, "as long as his Majeſty could make it conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown, with the preſervation of his rights, and the protection he owes to his ſubjects; and that, therefore, the conduct of Spain ſhould be guided by that of England." This was the declaration made by Eſcarano to the Viſcount Weymouth, in a private audience he had on the 4th of April following; and he acquainted his court with it on the 8th of the ſame month.

13. It has been the manifeſt leading project of England, to bring about a reunion of the colonies with the crown, in order to arm them againſt the Houſe of Bourbon, or to lead that ſame Houſe into an error, by means

means of treacherous negotiations and treaties, in order to take revenge on the colonies, after having made them enemies to France. The beginning, progreſs, and concluſion of the negotiations, related in this manifeſto, eſtabliſh evidently the certainty of that project, and the facts contained in the ſubſequent articles will prove it beyond a doubt.

14. The King of Spain could not obſerve a greater circumſpection than he did, to avoid engaging himſelf in an unfruitful negotiation, or getting entangled in its conſequences: he uſed the ſame expreſſions with the court of London that he had done with that of France, ſending orders, on the 19th of April, to the Charge des Affaires, Don Franciſco Eſcarano, directing him to require from the Britiſh miniſtry, "a manifeſt declaration from them, expreſſing their real longing after a negotiation with France, by the mediation of his Majeſty; and ſetting forth the chief articles whereupon to ground it."

Thoſe and other like precautions became neceſſary with a miniſtry that always affects to ſpeak myſteriouſly, ambiguouſly, and with artful reſtriction, and who delivered their thoughts to the Spaniſh ambaſſadors and public miniſters in a mode very different from that made uſe of in the public diſpatches of buſineſs directed by that ſame miniſtry to the Engliſh ambaſſador in Madrid. The Spaniſh cabinet, which does not adopt that political method of delivery, had the openheartedneſs to warn the ſaid miniſtry, to ſet it aſide during the courſe of the negotiation, without inſiſting on the candour and ſincerity the ſame requires.

15. Orders were ſent to Eſcarano, on the 23d and 25th of May, and on the 1ſt of June, laſt year, directing him to keep a profound ſilence upon the negotiation that had been agitated; and to declare again to the court of London, that his Catholic Majeſty was always in the ſame pacific diſpoſition, and would continue ſo, as long as the conduct of the Engliſh nation ſhould not compel him to alter his ſentiments. England cannot complain, that Spain has not repeatedly declared this ſame reſolution of the King.

16. It is evident from the contents of the above articles, that hoſtilities like the preceding, and even greater ones, were committed by England againſt the Spaniſh territories, and the Spaniſh flag, under the maſk of friendſhip, and in the midſt of the moſt cordial proteſtations and aſſurances of peace.

17. It would not appear ſtrange, if clandeſtine orders, ſimilar to thoſe given to take poſſeſſion of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies [152.], had been ſent, in the beginning of this year, to fall upon the Philippine iſlands; and if the emiſſaries ſent ſoon after through Alexandria and Suez, had been intruſted with the conduct of that enterpriſe: at leaſt, theſe are the opinions of the moſt judicious men, and alſo of thoſe who are the beſt acquainted with the tranſactions of the court of London. Time will bring thoſe myſteries and enigmas to light: and the world will be better able to comprehend, how the generoſity of the King of Spain has been correſpondent with that of the Engliſh cabinet, at a time when his Catholic Majeſty ſpared no pains to obtain an honourable peace, and free that nation from great calamities and misfortunes.

18. The Catholic King continued his mediation to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with an intent of making a peace, not only becauſe his religious and pious heart, and the love he profeſſes to his ſubjects, and to the human race in general, inſpired him with thoſe ſentiments; but moreover becauſe the court of London continued to inſinuate its deſire of coming to an accommodation with France. And indeed hardly was the Count of Almadovar arrived in London, but he acquainted his own court, on the 14th of September 1778, that in a long conference he lately had with the Viſcount Weymouth, that miniſter had concluded his diſcourſe in theſe terms, viz. "That the King his maſter knew the amiable diſpoſitions of his Catholic Majeſty; that he was indebted to him for his demonſtrations of friendſhip; and moſt ſincerely deſired to terminate the preſent war by his mediation, by a method conſiſtent with the honour of the crown of Great Britain, and by which, at the ſame time, an equal regard ſhould be paid to France." In conſideration of the uſual tenderneſs and honour due to the crown, Lord Weymouth recommended to the Marquis d'Almadovar, not to uſe in his diſpatches (as he, Weymouth, would have the ſame care in his own) theſe words, "to aſk the mediation," but "to requeſt and to wiſh that his Catholic Majeſty ſhould interpoſe his mediation." The Lord Grantham ſpoke ſubſtantially the ſame language in Madrid; and his Catholic Majeſty, having taken it into his conſideration, ordered a note or memorial to be delivered to that ambaſſador on the 28th of the ſaid month of September, and a copy of the ſame was diſpatched to the Marquis of Almadovar, with direction to communicate it to the Engliſh government. We thought it indiſpenſably neceſſary to write out the anſwer contained in this memorial; becauſe it will throw light upon, and ſerve for the right underſtanding of the ſaid negotiation; and which was as follows.

"The King, conſidering what has been written by his ambaſſador the Marquis of Almadovar,

Almadovar, and out of love for mankind; and, moreover, to continue upon good and amicable terms with both the Kings of France and Great Britain; and alſo leſt he might be reproached with refuſing to promote, as far as lies in his power, the tranquillity of Europe; he has reſolved to notify to each court, that if they ſincerely wiſh to enter into a plan of reconciliation, by the mediation of his Majeſty, without prejudice to the honour of either crown, but with an anticipated anxiety for the dignity of both, the moſt regular and decent mode of proceeding is, that each court ſhould deliver into the King's hand, without delay, and at the ſame time, the conditions and the articles they intend to obtain or to grant by the treaty, that his Majeſty may communicate to the one court the propoſitions of the other, to the end that they may be modified, diſcuſſed, or refuſed: That, after a due examination of the whole, his Majeſty ſhall propoſe his own plan of pacification to terminate the difference: That the negotiation muſt ſtipulate the method of concerting with the Americans; without which the wiſhed-for peace cannot be attained: and, finally, That at one and the ſame time the conditions relative to the private intereſt of England and Spain, ſhall likewiſe be diſcuſſed and ſettled: That the King would be ſorry if this method was not adopted, or if the negotiation was not conducted with ſincerity; ſince, in ſpite of the wiſhes and pacific diſpoſitions of his Majeſty, he foreſees that the circumſtances of the preſent war muſt oblige him to become a party, the neceſſity of having his flag reſpected, and of repelling the inſults which are daily offered to his ſubjects, having occaſioned expenſive armaments, and immenſe loſſes." The concluſion of the foregoing anſwer cauſed much uneaſineſs to the court of London; which, nevertheleſs, ſent a frigate that entered the port of Corunna on the 10th of November, with diſpatches for Lord Grantham, with the anſwer of the ſame court. That anſwer was delivered on the 14th of the ſaid month of November; and the contents of it were, That the court of London accepted with pleaſure the mediation of his Catholic Majeſty to ſettle the differences that exiſted between England and France, provided the latter would withdraw the ſuccours and aid it gave to the colonies. As to the articles relative to the reciprocal intereſt of Great Britain and Spain, the reply was, That his Britannic Majeſty was ready at all times, and wiſhed earneſtly to enter into that diſcuſſion; and to ſettle them ſo as to eſtabliſh reciprocal advantages to both empires. The Catholic King, in compliance with the tender he had made to both courts, communicated to each of them, on the 20th of November, the pretenſions, propoſitions, and overtures, made reſpectively; perſuading both of them, with various reaſonings, to ſeek means and temperaments productive of a ſincere and honourable reconciliation. At the ſame time a letter was ſent to the Marquis of Almadovar, ſetting forth what follows, viz. "Your Excellency is authoriſed to ſettle the matters relative to our own intereſt, on which important buſineſs the utmoſt efforts of your zeal muſt be employed; ſince the King, who wiſhes ſincerely to preſerve the peace, will receive the greateſt pleaſure, if he ſees thoſe differences ſatisfactorily ſettled: to the ſame purpoſe let your Excellency remind the Engliſh miniſtry of the generoſity of Spain, for its impartial proceedings in circumſtances ſo critical as the preſent ones. But let your Excellency repreſent, how badly we have been anſwered, and how ill we are conſtantly treated by the Engliſh navy, as may be aſcertained from the inſults that our navigators receive almoſt daily in different parts of the ocean, and in the very ports and places on the coaſts of this peninſula. That court will underſtand, that the greateſt proteſtations of friendſhip have no force to perſuade, while repeated inſults are never reproved or chaſtiſed; eſpecially after we have been for years expoſing to them our grievances in the moſt cordial open manner, and with the moſt cautious expreſſions.

Your Excellency is not ignorant of what has been regulated by the preliminaries of the treaty of Paris in the year 1763, in the 16th article [24. 572.], relative to the Engliſh ſettlements in the bay of Honduras and other adjacent territories. It was there ſtipulated in poſitive terms, that whatever fortifications had been built, ſhould be demoliſhed; and that the Engliſh ſhould only be allowed to have ſome houſes and magazines, without being moleſted in the cutting or in the carriage of the logwood out of the territories which have always been acknowledged to belong to Spain. Not only that demolition was never performed, but the fortifications have even been augmented; and there is now artillery and garriſons in them: ſo that thoſe plantations have been converted both into a military government with patents, by the authority of that court, and into a permanent colony, by the uſurpation of foreign territories, and a formal contravention to the treaties.

Other enterpriſes of the ſame nature have been made in different parts of thoſe extenſive coaſts, as his Excellency will find related in the papers of his ſecretaryſhip; and his Excellency is likewiſe deſired to take notice of the artful machinations made uſe of by the Engliſh to arm the Indians againſt the Spaniards. There being no poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a ſolid and ſincere friendſhip, except

cept redreſs be given for ſuch notorious grievances, and except they be prevented to happen in future, it becomes the court of London to compenſate thoſe injuries according to the dictates of equity; and then others will be laid before the ſaid court with the ſame freedom. Thoſe redreſſes, however, once granted, England will find no inſtances of better diſpoſition than thoſe harboured in the heart of our auguſt Sovereign.

I have at different periods acquainted your Excellency, (as I had often done your predeceſſor in the embaſſy), of the various inſults we received near Louiſiana; wherein the Engliſh either inſtigated the Indians, our allies, to raiſe a rebellion againſt us, and to fight us with the arms and ammunition they had put into their hands; or inſulted the Spaniſh plantations and ſettlements, and even threatened to attack the capital towns, with their men of war, under the moſt frivolous pretences, no way excuſable. On this head I ſhall only add, that extortions have been ſo continual, that they cry aloud for a prompt remedy.

Finally, your Excellency is well informed of all the inſults we have ſuffered, and which we never deſerved, either by our paſt or preſent conduct. Conſequently your Excellency will expoſe our rights with the greateſt cordiality and moderation, to the end that the Engliſh miniſtry may be convinced of the rectitude and ſincerity of our conduct, and of the neceſſity of ſettling at once our differences, and of regulating our claims and intereſts; at the ſame time ſtifling whatever may lead to any future diſcord, for the reſpective utility of both nations, upon which I refer to the inſtructions ſent to your Excellency. A ſufficient power has already been inveſted in your Excellency, and a greater one will be given, if neceſſary, the more effectually to conſolidate the friendſhip of the two courts; which important point, and that of a general peace, are the two objects which the magnanimous heart of our ſovereign greatly longs after. I ſuppoſe, however, that your Excellency will not forget, that we can do nothing whatever againſt the intereſt of France, whoſe friendſhip muſt always be one of our greateſt concerns."

In conſequence of the facts and tranſactions already enumerated, the world will be convinced of the circumſpection, ſincerity, and attention, with which the Catholic King has endeavoured to conclude a peace ſolidly cemented, and to obtain from England redreſs for an infinite number of inſults. The court of London, moreover, affects now to compel his Majeſty to take up arms, (a part he has already taken), by renewing the inſults, without any appearance of offering redreſs.

19. The propoſitions of England, in anſwer to the diſpatches of his Catholic Majeſty of the 20th of November 1778, were not received in Madrid before the 13th of January 1779, and were the reſult of a conference held the 28th of December laſt, between the Marquis of Almadovar and the Viſcount Weymouth.

What has been the conduct of that miniſter in this occurrence, may be collected from the following expreſſions contained in the diſpatches, deſigned as an anſwer, and directed to the Marquis of Almadovar, on the 20th of the ſame month of January.

"I have read to the King (thoſe are the very words) the whole diſpatches of your Excellency, as well as the paper delivered to him by Lord Weymouth; I have at the ſame time informed his Majeſty of the remarks and obſervations that Lord Grantham has communicated to me, relative to the ſame object. This Ambaſſador has put into my hands another paper, ſimilar to that which your miniſter of ſtate has forwarded by your Excellency; nevertheleſs, I muſt ſay, that, neither in the explications of Lord Grantham, nor in the diſpatches that he received from his court, are found the ſubſtantial and ſpecific expreſſions which have been made uſe of with your Excellency, in order to induce the King to propoſe a method of an accommodation.

Notwithſtanding that, I ſhall tell to your Excellency, with freedom and exactneſs, the reflections made by the King, the reſolution he has taken, and the conduct your Excellency ſhould keep to cauſe it to be underſtood, and get an anſwer, and the preſent diſpatches will ſerve to your Excellency as inſtructions.

His Majeſty has already remarked, that the court of London expreſſes itſelf differently by word of mouth to what it does in writing; that is to ſay, by word of mouth, it appears, as if that court wiſhed for nothing more eagerly, than to hear the convenient and honourable temperament his Majeſty has found, in order to accede to it; and in writing, it appears, that the Britiſh miniſtry perſiſt in their former ideas, expreſſing only their deſire of a peace by general proteſtations."

Subſequently to the foregoing reflections, others were ſet down in the ſaid diſpatches to the Marquis of Almadovar, explaining ſome thoughts that occurred to his Majeſty, with a deſire of falling into a prudent and honourable method that might facilitate the pacification. The ſubſtance of thoſe ideas was confined to know, whether it might be expected that the Engliſh cabinet would conſent to a long-continued truce between the belligerent powers and the colonies, that might be prudently combined, to preſerve the

the dignity of each of them, and, conſolidated with various precautions, to remove any ſuſpicion of a new rupture; for which purpoſe it ſhould be referred to a ſubſequent negotiation, or to a congreſs to be held in an impartial place, under the mediation of the King, for the ſtipulating or concluding the treaties that might take place between thoſe powers.

"20. From the 20th January of this year, when an extraordinary diſpatch was forwarded to London, with the ideas or thoughts of the King, as recited in the above article, the Engliſh cabinet deferred giving any anſwer until the 16th March. At the end of ſo long a delay that court came to an explication in a diſpatch ſent to Lord Grantham, which was received in Madrid the 28th of the ſame month. It amounted merely to advert at large on the reflections contained in that of the court of Madrid of the 20th January; but it deſerves much notice what ſort of ſatisfaction Lord Viſcount Weymouth gave, relative to the difference obſerved between his manner of explaining himſelf by word of mouth and by writing. "My language (theſe are the words of his anſwer) with the Marquis de Almodovar, flowing from my ardent deſire for peace, went too far, and were wanting in exactneſs, if they imported a diſpoſition to exchange the royal honour, and manifeſt rights, for a decent exterior, and plauſible temperature." If, with ſuch fineſſe, miniſters recede from their words, and ſatisfy thoſe with whom they treat, what faith or ſecurity can be put in the explanations of a court made ſolemnly to the ambaſſador of a powerful king?

Be it as it may, after all the obſervations contained in the forementioned Engliſh diſpatch of the 16th March, it concluded with an appearance which flattered the King with an hope, that at leaſt a pacification would be effected: "Let France propoſe (ſaid the Engliſh cabinet) her complaints, pretenſions, or points of any kind whatever, and an adequate anſwer will be given; or let there be a truce for a certain time between Great Britain and France, during which period the pretenſions of the one and the other may be adjuſted through the good offices of his Catholic Majeſty."

"Let the colonies (added the Engliſh cabinet) propoſe their complaints, and the conditions for their ſecurity and caution, by which may be re-eſtabliſhed the continuance and authority of a lawful government: we ſhall then ſee if we can come to a direct and immediate agreement; or if they alſo prefer the method above mentioned, let there be likewiſe a truce made with North America, that is, a real truce, and effective ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; during which, the liberty and effects of all ſorts and claſſes of perſons may be re-eſtabliſhed and ſecured, and all violence ſuſpended, on one ſide and the other, againſt the reſpective individuals, and the eſtates or effects they poſſeſs. In theſe truces, the French may treat of their own peculiar matters, without giving the umbrage which would be inevitable if they mixed in the negotiation their own particular advantages with the ſuppoſed intereſts of thoſe whom France affects to call her allies; and his Britannic Majeſty may eſtabliſh the government of his own dominions, without the diſagreeable circumſtance of receiving the conditions relative thereto from the hands of a declared enemy."

21. It appears by the opening made by the court of London, in the diſpatch mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a truce between France and the colonies, that it contained no difficulty, except the reſerving for a ſeparate treaty the pretenſions of the ſaid power, and thoſe of the American provinces aforeſaid, ſo that France ſhould not interfere in the arrangement of their intereſts; — at leaſt, this is what any perſon of ſincerity and good faith would then or even now believe, who read, or now reads, the explanations of the Engliſh cabinet in that diſpatch. Under this ſuppoſition, we ſhall communicate for the eye of the impartial public, the ultimatum of the propoſitions made by the Catholic King to the two courts of Paris and London, he having taken on himſelf the adjuſtment of the diſputes ſubſiſting with the American provinces, and conſidering there was not time to communicate to them, or even to France, this his reſolution, and whereof advice was given to the ſaid courts on the 3d of April in the preſent year; that is to ſay, ſeven days after the having received the anſwer of the Engliſh cabinet.

"If theſe openings or propoſitions (thus literally are the expreſſions of the ultimatum) had come immediately after the King had made his, for the forming a plan of reconciliation, many difficulties might already have been removed or adjuſted by the modifications which it might have been practicable to have negotiated, if reciprocal good faith had exiſted, and a confidence to conclude a peace. But having loſt more than two months time (without mentioning what was neglected before), and obſerving in this interval, there was no need of ceſſation in the forming great expeditions or preparations, ſuſpicions inevitably aroſe, that the drift was to amuſe and conſume the remaining months of the campaign, and to continue the war with vigour. If this be the caſe, every attempt of the King will be uſeleſs towards eſtabliſhing concord between the belligerent powers. Nevertheleſs his Majeſty, to give the laſt proof of his love of humanity, and that he

has not left undone any thing to impede and put a ſtop to the calamities of war, has commanded that the following plan be propoſed to the two courts, which on his part is the ultimatum of his negotiation.

"That with a view that this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities may re-eſtabliſh reciprocal ſecurity and good faith between the two crowns, there ſhall be a general diſarming, within one month in all the European ſeas, within four in thoſe of America, and within eight, or one year, in thoſe remote parts of Africa and Aſia: That in the ſpace of one month, a place ſhall be fixed upon, in which the plenipotentiaries of the two courts ſhall meet to treat on a definitive adjuſtment of peace, regulate the reſpective reſtitutions or compenſations neceſſary, in conſequence of the repriſals that have been made without any declaration of war, and to ſettle ſuch matters of complaint or pretenſion as the one crown may have againſt the other: to the accompliſhment of which end the King will continue his mediation, and does now, for the holding of this congreſs, make an offer of the city of Madrid: That a like ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhall be ſeparately granted by the King of Great Britain to the American colonies, through the interceſſion and mediation of his Catholic Majeſty, to whom the ſaid potentate ſhall promiſe the obſervance thereof, and with the condition that it ſhall not be broke, without giving to his Majeſty an anticipated notice of one year, that he may communicate it to the ſaid American provinces; and that there be eſtabliſhed a reciprocal diſarming the ſame as with France, in the ſame times and places, regulating the limits that ſhall not be paſſed by the one or the other party with reſpect to the places they may reſpectively occupy at the time of ratifying this adjuſtment.

That for ſettling theſe particulars, and others relative to the firmneſs of the ſaid ſuſpenſion, and to the effects it may produce while it ſubſiſts, there ſhall come to Madrid one or more commiſſaries or agents of the colonies, and his Britannic Majeſty will ſend his under the like mediation of the King (if they ſhould be in need of it) to accord or agree in the foregoing, and that in the mean time the colonies ſhall be treated as independent in acting.

Finally, if it be deſired by all or any of the belligerent powers, or by the aforeſaid colonies, the forementioned powers ſhall, jointly with Spain, guarantee the treaties or agreements which ſhall be made. — The Catholic King now makes an offer of his guarantee to the ſaid preliminaries."

Whoever compares theſe articles with the preceding openings made by the court of London, will decide, if there can be imagined propoſals more moderate, or more analogous to the ſyſtem laid down by the Britiſh cabinet. Perhaps his Catholic Majeſty has rather gone too far in the moderation to which he reduced the ſaid propoſitions, taking on himſelf the difficult taſk of ſettling the diſputes.

22. The greateſt repugnance which the Britiſh cabinet affected to ſhew to the ultimatum and propoſitions of the King of Spain, reſts on the point of treating the colonies as independent in acting during the interval of the truce.

To what has been already ſaid, may be added, what was affirmed in all the public papers of the month of February 1778, that Lord North had on the 17th of the ſaid month, propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, as a matter of courſe, "That the commiſſioners, then appointed by the court of London, ſhould treat with the American deputies, as if they were plenipotentiaries of independent ſtates; with proviſo, that this conceſſion ſhould not be prejudicial to Great Britain, if in the courſe of the negotiation the colonies ſhould reſolve to deſiſt from their claim of independence."

It is a thing very extraordinary, and even ridiculous, that the court of London treats the colonies as independent, not only in acting, but of right, during this war, and that it ſhould have a repugnance to treat them as ſuch, only in acting during a truce or ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. The convention of Saratoga; the refuſing of Gen. Burgoyne, as a lawful priſoner, to give him trial; the exchange and liberating of other priſoners made from the colonies; the having named commiſſioners to go and ſupplicate the Americans at their own doors, requeſt peace of them, and treat with them and the congreſs; and, finally, by a thouſand other acts of this ſort, authoriſed by the court of London, have been, and are true ſigns of the acknowledgement of the independence: and the Engliſh nation itſelf may judge and decide, whether all thoſe acts are ſo compatible with the decorum of the Britiſh crown, as would be the granting to the colonies, at the interceſſion of his Catholic Majeſty, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, to adjuſt their differences, and treat them in this interval as independent ſtates.

23. It muſt appear incredible, after having conſidered the preceding articles, that the court of London ſhould refuſe to accept of the propoſitions of the ultimatum of that of Madrid, although with ſome explanation that it might think neceſſary; but that court not only rejected them, in its anſwer given the 4th of May, after various pretexts for delay, but put forth indirect and ſtrained interpretations of the propoſals that were then made, having the effrontery to ſay, that

that "the drift of Spain was to form, from the pretenſions of the colonies to independence, one common cauſe with them and with France;" — the Britiſh cabinet concluding, with ſaying, "That if the conditions which the court of Verſailles had communicated to his Catholic Majeſty did not preſent a better aſpect than this for the treaty, or did not offer leſs imperious and unequal terms, the King of Great Britain would only have to lament, that he found the hopes fruſtrated which he had always conceived of the happy reſtoration of peace, as well for his ſubjects, as the world in general."

If this is not a want of reſpect to the mediating king, a real provocation, and evident in conſequence, it will be difficult to find expreſſions more adapted for it. Neither did his Catholic Majeſty make a common cauſe with France and the colonies in his laſt propoſals, nor were they made to France, to whom they were not, nor could not, for want of time, be communicated, before they were tranſmitted to the court of London: ſo that the whole apparatus of thoſe haughty expreſſions of the Engliſh miniſtry amount merely to ſay, That, in ſpite of the overture made by themſelves on the 16th of March, they preferred war to peace, or treating with the forementioned mediator, whom they provokingly inſulted, treating him as partial, leagued with the enemies of Great Britain, imperious, and inconſiſtent.

In aggravation to all the foregoing, at the ſame time the Britiſh cabinet anſwered the King of Spain in the terms already mentioned, they were inſinuating themſelves at the court of France, by means of ſecret emiſſaries, and making very great offers to her to abandon the colonies, and make peace with England. But there is yet more: At the very ſame time the Engliſh miniſtry were treating, by means of another certain emiſſary, with Dr Franklin, miniſter-plenipotentiary from the colonies, reſiding at Paris, to whom they made various propoſals to diſunite them from France, and to accommodate matters with England, on conditions almoſt identically the ſame as thoſe which they had rejected, or ſpurned at, as coming from his Catholic Majeſty, but in fact with offers much more favourable to the ſaid colonies. The ſaid treaty went ſo far as to be extended in formed articles, with various explanations; and was carried on under the authority of one of the principal Engliſh miniſters. Of all this, and much more, it would be eaſy to inform the public, by true and formal copies, if it were neceſſary, or that this implacable enemy hereafter obliges it to be done, and who has always been treated by Spain with the greateſt moderation.

24. The true intentions of the court of London being clearly diſcovered, the Catholic King could no longer with-hold the putting in full force the treaties concluded with France. From what has been obſerved in the preceding article, it evidently follows, that the whole of the Engliſh policy was to diſunite the two courts of Paris and Madrid, by means of the ſuggeſtions and offers ſhe ſeparately made to them; alſo to ſeparate the colonies from their treaties and engagements entered into with France, induce them to arm againſt the Houſe of Bourbon, or, more probably, to oppreſs them, when they found (from breaking their engagements) they ſtood alone, and without protectors or guarantees for the treaties they might enter into with the Britiſh miniſtry. This, therefore, is the net they laid for the American States; that is to ſay, tempt them with flattering and very magnificent promiſes to come to an accommodation with them, excluſive of any intervention of Spain or France; that the Britiſh miniſtry might always remain the arbitrators of the fate of the ſaid colonies, in the point of fulfilling any treaties or agreements they might make. But the Catholic King, faithful, on the one part, to the engagements which bind him to the Moſt Chriſtian King, his nephew; juſt and upright, on the other, to his own ſubjects, whom he ought to protect and guard againſt ſo many inſults; and, finally, full of humanity and compaſſion for the Americans and other individuals who ſuffer from the calamities of the preſent war, he is determined to purſue and proſecute it, and to make all the efforts in his power, until he can obtain a ſolid and permanent peace, with full and ſatisfactory ſecurities that it ſhall be obſerved.

25. To attain, as before mentioned, the much deſired end of a ſecure peace, it is abſolutely neceſſary to curtail and deſtroy the arbitrary proceedings and maxims of the Engliſh maritime power; to the attainment of which, all other maritime powers, and even all nations in general, are become much intereſted. The Catholic King, for his part, has done all he poſſibly could, that the inſults founded in ſuch proceedings and maxims ſhould be put an end to; but this he has not been able to effect by amicable means. On the contrary, injuries have been repeatedly continued, as has been repreſented in the negotiation ſet on foot with England by the mediation of the ſaid monarch. The court of London has become forgetful, in theſe latter times, that ſhe ſhould have adjuſted and ſettled her differences with Spain according to agreement. In the ſame month of May in which this negotiation was put an end to, there came advices of the violences committed by Engliſh ſhips and their crews in the river St John, and bay of Honduras (of which mention has been made in art. 1.);

and it was known alſo, with great probability, that the Engliſh cabinet had given anticipated orders for the invaſion of the Philippine iſlands. From ſuch deeds, as well as from the foregoing, the impartial and candid world will be enabled to do juſtice in this famous controverſy, and decide, whether the declaration preſented by the Marquis of Almadovar the 16th of June laſt, is founded in reaſon and truth. In the meanwhile it ſhould be obſerved, that the court of London, on the 18th of ſaid month, iſſued orders for commencing and committing hoſtilities, and making reprizals againſt Spain, who did not iſſue ſimilar orders till after ſhe had received advice thereof.

When the foregoing ſtate-paper was nearly printed off, we received, and had before ſeen copied into various public news-papers, the anſwer which the Britiſh miniſtry gave to the declaration preſented in London by the Marquis d'Almadovar at the time of his taking leave of that court [401.]. The impartial and judicious world will adjudge to the ſaid anſwer the degree of merit and value which it deſerves, after having read with attention the ſame declaration, with the foregoing articles, which ſtrengthen it: in which are ſeen, the truth, the probity, fair dealing, and rectitude, of the Spaniſh cabinet; who are emboldened to aſk of all Europe, if it believes there be a poſſibility to preſerve a true friendſhip, depend upon a ſincere negotiation, or conclude with openheartedneſs any treaty, with thoſe who poſſeſs ſufficient ſerenity to deny or diſfigure facts ſo well proved, ſo clear, and ſo poſitive, as thoſe ſtated and made public in the preſent articles.

Done at Madrid, by order of the King, 1779.

Extracts from A ſhort hiſtory of the Oppoſition, *concluded* [367.].

An opportunity offered itſelf lately, which might have reflected credit on Oppoſition, without the ſuppoſed diſgrace of changing their former opinions. The Spaniſh reſcript [316.] furniſhed this opportunity; yet the nation cannot ſee, without indignation and aſtoniſhment, that acts indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate have been combated, with all the virulence and obſtinacy of oratory, in every ſtage of their progreſs; that the party clogged every meaſure for arming the kingdom by ſea and land, whilſt they aſſerted, that the enemy were ready to invade our coaſt, and that a few days might bring the report of their guns to the ears of both Houſes of Parliament; that when a ſpirit of unanimity and exertion became the duty of all lovers of their country, the faction announced, with a ſpecies of ſavage triumph, that the city of London would not vote a man or a ſhilling, for the national defence [339.], in the preſent emergency; that, in ſhort, they preſumed to aſſert in public, that the tyranny of France and Spain would be more welcome to them than the continuance of their rivals in power.

After ſuch proofs of averſion to the public good, it will be in vain to hope for any reformation in Oppoſition. The diſtreſs in which they have involved their country, can advance but one ſtep farther, to furniſh them with an opportunity of retreating from the line of their miſconduct: That ſtep is an invaſion of this iſland; the laſt effort of the conſpiracy of our foreign enemies. In that critical moment, a moment which every good ſubject would meet with ſpirit and confidence in his cauſe, there is every reaſon to fear that Oppoſition would be ſtill an oppoſition. Such has been the inveteracy which a conſciouſneſs of criminality, a jealouſy of rivals, a habit of oppoſing the intereſts and degrading the dignity of their country, and a deſpair embittered by an unpopular and fruitleſs conteſt of many years, have mixed with every ſpring of their actions, every power of their minds.

Upon the whole, we may fairly affirm, that neither the talents they poſſeſs, nor the conduct they have purſued, are likely to recommend Oppoſition as proper perſons for managing public affairs at the preſent criſis. If our ſituation is alarming, we muſt look for relief to the reſources of the kingdom, and the ſpirit of our countrymen, and not to thoſe who have uniformly endeavoured to depretiate the firſt and to damp the ſecond. The truth is, that, very fortunately for this country, this deſponding party have hitherto failed in their views of convincing us that our ruin is inevitable. We feel the contrary in the internal vigour of the ſtate, and in that unanimity of ſentiment among the people, which forbids us to connect danger with deſpair.

But why ſhould either be mentioned upon the preſent occaſion? This country, with much ſmaller reſources, and much leſs unanimity, has repeatedly weathered more dreadful ſtorms than that which only ſeems to threaten us at preſent. In the firſt Dutch war, France and Denmark joined the enemy againſt Eng-

England (1): She had no friendly port on the continent, from the Pyrenees to the pole; no ally but the Biſhop of Munſter. The Dutch came out to a deciſive battle with 113 ſhips of war, 11 fire-ſhips, and 7 yachts, led by able, experienced, and brave commanders. France, co-operating with her allies, entered the Channel with forty ſhips of the line. The uſual revenue of England amounted only to the annual ſum of 1,200,000l.; and the ſupplies granted for the year exceeded not double that ſum. Our ſtanding army ſcarcely conſiſted of 5000 men, and there was no militia in the kingdom.

The nation was, in the mean time, viſited with two of the moſt dreadful calamities that can afflict a people, peſtilence and fire. Near 80,000 perſons had been carried off by the firſt in London alone. The city had become a kind of deſert, and graſs was obſerved to grow in the middle of Cheapſide (2). The plague followed thoſe who fled to the country; and terror and death filled every corner of the kingdom [32. 602.]. This ſcourge was followed by a fire, which conſumed fifteen out of the twenſix wards of the city, conſiſting of 400 ſtreets and lanes, 13,000 houſes, and 89 pariſh-churches (3). But theſe misfortunes neither damped the ſpirits of the people, nor obſtructed the meaſures of government. Our fleets, though much inferior, fought, and vanquiſhed the enemy. The alliance againſt us was broken, and an honourable and advantageous peace was obtained.

In the year 1690, the French fleet entered the Engliſh channel, appeared before Plymouth on the 20th of June, drove the combined fleets of England and Holland from the back of the Iſle of Wight, engaged and totally defeated them in a general battle near Beachy-head. In this unfortunate action we loſt eight ſhips of the line, beſides many more that were rendered unfit for ſervice, and the ſhattered remains of the fleet were forced to ſhelter themſelves in the Thames (4). The French rode triumphant, for ſome months, in the channel. They inſulted our ſea-ports, and threatened our coaſts with invaſion. There were, at the time, no more than *five thouſand* regular troops in England; the militia were not arrayed; K. William was, in a manner, confined to Ireland, by the ſuperiority of the enemy at ſea.

The nation was, at the ſame time, diſtracted and divided in opinion, on account of a diſputed ſucceſſion. Public credit, during the whole war, was ſo low, that, ſoon after this period, exchequer and navy bills became almoſt of as little value as the paſteboard dollars of the American congreſs; and even the notes of the Bank of England were at *forty per cent.* diſcount (1). Near *ſix thouſand* trading veſſels were taken by the French in the courſe of the war (2). Notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, the vigour of government and ſpirit of the people ſurmounted all difficulties. The enemy was diſappointed in all his ambitious views, an honourable peace was obtained, the revolution confirmed, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion ſecured, and public credit reſtored.

In the preſent times, our reſources are much greater, our ſpirit equal, and our danger leſs, than at either of thoſe periods. We have an ample revenue, an untainted credit, a great and a growing navy. Inſtead of *five thouſand* men, we have above *ſixty thouſand* diſciplined troops for our internal defence; and we have a certain proſpect of half as many more, in the ſpace of a few months. A ſpirit of unanimity, vigour, and exertion, begins to pervade the whole kingdom. Our nobility and gentry, with a ſpirit becoming Britons, either ſerve in our conſtitutional defence, the militia, or with their influence and purſes exert themſelves in raiſing new corps. The greateſt commercial ſociety in the kingdom has ſet a noble example to their fellow-ſubjects, by an unanimous and powerful aid to the ſtate in the preſent emergency [338.]. Voluntary ſubſcriptions for raiſing ſoldiers, and for giving a bounty to ſailors, have been opened in ſeveral places; and the ſame ſpirit will diffuſe itſelf through both the Britiſh iſles. Such as are debarred, by infirmities and years from perſonal ſervice, will undoubtedly exhibit, on the preſent occaſion, their love for their country, and zeal for its ſafety.

Inſtead of being depreſſed with a ſenſe of danger, all ranks and degrees of men

(1) In 1665, 1666, &c. *Vide* Life of Clarendon, Burnet, Rapin, Ralph, &c. &c.
(2) Baker, p. 637
(3) *Vide* Clarendon, Heath, Burnet.
(4) Lord Torrington's Letter, July 1. 1690.

(1) Kenneth, Ralph, Burnet, &c. &c.
(2) *Vide* Journals of the Commons, 1698.

feel

feel that elevation which threatened perils excite in generous minds. Inſtead of looking forward to future diſgraces or diſaſters, they reflect on the glory of former times. The poſterity of thoſe who conquered at Poictiers, Creſſy, and Agincourt, and annexed France itſelf to the Engliſh crown, cannot form to themſelves any fears from a French invaſion. On the contrary, when they have ſufficiently prepared for ſecurity at home, they will act offenſively abroad; and carry back to the boſom of the enemy that terror which he vainly hopes to create.

If we are are at war in America, we have not the burden of a continental war; that ſink, in which our treaſure has always diſappeared, without any hope of return. The money laid out on our navy, or expended on our colonies, will return to the centre of the kingdom, through all the veins of commerce. Our trade has been protected, againſt the enemy, to a degree unknown in any former war. We have loſt, in no quarter of the world, any territory without an equivalent; in ſome we have gained. In the Weſt Indies, we are ſtill ſuperior to our enemies (1). We have eradicated them entirely from the Eaſt Indies; and we have a flattering proſpect of a ſpeedy termination of reſiſtance in North America.

In the firſt ſtage of a war, the advantage of attack is poſſeſſed by that nation who firſt breaks the peace. The diſadvantages of defence muſt, for ſome time, remain with its opponent. A ſtate poſſeſſing ſuch extenſive dominions as Great Britain, cannot be ſuppoſed to be invulnerable on every ſide. We may ſuffer ſome loſſes at the beginning; for what people was ever uniformly ſucceſsful in war? The Romans themſelves were not always invincible. They frequently loſt provinces and armies; yet they roſe ſuperior to all nations. The profits and loſſes of war can only be eſtimated on the day which concludes a peace. Let us be unanimous among ourſelves, and that day cannot be diſtant, diſadvantageous, or diſhonourable; on the contrary, it will be attended with that glory which the ſpirit and exertion of a great ſtate cannot fail to acquire.

(1) [We had not loſt St Vincent's and Grenada at the time of writing, or accounts of the loſs of them were not arrived.]

PARLIAMENT. [543.]

Mr Thomas De Grey, under ſecretary of ſtate in the American department, laid before the Commons, Feb. 19. the papers moved for by Sir William Howe Feb. 17. [540.]; and the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, May 6. to conſider of them, Frederick Montagu, Eſq; in the chair.

Earl Cornwallis was called in. His Lordſhip ſeated himſelf in a chair which had been prepared for him, covered; but in two or three minutes, when the examination began, he roſe, and gave his anſwers uncovered.—The examination was begun by Sir William Howe.

Q. Was not the knowledge of the face of the country of America, for military purpoſes, extremely difficult to be obtained from the inhabitants?

A. I am happy to take this public opportunity to declare my great regard and veneration for the character of Sir William Howe. I think he has deſerved greatly of his country; I think he has ſerved his country with fidelity, aſſiduity, and with great ability. After having given this public teſtimony of my opinion of the General's conduct, I beg this Houſe will underſtand, that I do not come here to anſwer to queſtions of opinion, but merely to queſtions of matter of fact. The private opinions of a ſubordinate officer can give very little ſatisfaction to this Houſe; they may poſſibly not do juſtice to the character of the Hon. General, or my own. I therefore truſt in the candour of this Houſe, that they will put no queſtions to me but ſuch as relate to matter of fact.

The queſtion was then repeated; and to that, and other queſtions, his Lordſhip anſwered, That the country in general is ſo covered with wood, that it is very difficult to obtain a knowledge of it by reconnoitring: That he never ſaw a ſtronger country, or one better calculated for the defenſive: That the movements of the King's army were much embarraſſed and retarded, by the difficulty of getting proviſions when in the field, and from the cloſeneſs of the country: That he never heard it ſuggeſted by any one, that the lines at Brooklyn could have been carried by aſſault: That it was univerſally ſuppoſed that the enemy's principal ſtrength was at that time on York iſland: That he did not know that any time was loſt in making prepa-

rations

rations for landing on York iſland: That there was no unavoidable delay prior to the movement of the army from York iſland: That he was acquainted with Sir W. Howe's reaſons for not attacking the enemy's intrenchments at White Plains on the 28th of October, after the defeat of the corps on the enemy's right, and that the attack was impoſſible: That the country in the rear of the enemy did appear very ſtrong: That his Lordſhip could not, with that part of his corps which firſt reached Brunſwick, have purſued the enemy with any proſpect of material advantage, or without greatly diſtreſſing thoſe troops: That the General, the night he arrived at Trenton, detached his Lordſhip with a conſiderable corps from Maidenhead to Corriel's Ferry, where it was hoped they ſhould have found boats to croſs the river, but no boats were found; and that as the Delaware was not fordable, and they could get no boats, it was impracticable to croſs it at that time: That his Lordſhip was the perſon who firſt ſuggeſted to the General the idea of taking Trenton and Burdenton into the chain of his cantonments; the advantage that muſt naturally ariſe from holding ſo large a part of the Jerſeys, the great encouragement they met with from the inhabitants, 3 or 400 of whom came in and took the oaths every day for at leaſt ten days, and the great advantage they ſhould derive from obtaining forage and proviſions, made his Lordſhip think it adviſeable to riſk that extended cantonment: That as to poſting the Heſſians on the left of the cantonments, his Lordſhip ever had, and ſtill has, the higheſt opinion of thoſe brave troops; the misfortune at Trenton was owing entirely to the imprudence and negligence of the commanding officer; that on all other occaſions thoſe troops behaved with the greateſt intrepidity; that the behaviour of this very brigade of Col. Rall on the attack of Fort Waſhington [38. 645.] was the admiration of the whole army: That his Lordſhip did not obſerve any unneceſſary delay in moving the army from the Jerſeys for the imbarkation from Staten iſland: That his Lordſhip declined anſwering the queſtion, Did not the expedition to Pennſylvania prove a powerful diverſion in favour of the northern army? becauſe it was a matter of opinion: That it was underſtood that the army under Gen. Waſhington marched into Pennſylvania to oppoſe the corps on that ſervice: That his Lordſhip heard, that about 2000 men marched from the highlands under the command of Gen. Maxwell to reinforce Gen. Waſhington immediately after the battle of Brandywine: That the manœuvre that brought on the action at Brandywine [39. 598.] reflects the higheſt honour on the General: That he did not obſerve that any advantage was loſt which might have been taken in conſequence of that battle: That the Schuylkill is not fordable on the route of Derby; and as the bridge was broke, it would not have been eaſy to have paſſed there: That the reaſons that induced Sir W. Howe to give the command of the attack on Red-bank to Col. Donop were theſe: Soon after the army landed at the head of Elk, Col. Donop wrote to his Lordſhip, to repreſent to the General, that he thought he had not been ſufficiently conſidered; that he had no ſeparate command, and conſequently had had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf; Sir W. Howe then directed his Lordſhip to aſſure the Colonel, that he would take the firſt opportunity of giving him a ſuitable ſeparate command: That his Lordſhip communicated to Col. Donop Sir W. Howe's orders for the attack of Red-bank [39. 605.], and they were entirely diſcretionary; and Col. Donop appeared to be perfectly ſatisfied with his orders: That they were much retarded in the poſſeſſion of the fort on Mud-iſland [40. 11.] by an extraordinary ſtorm of rain which broke down the dikes, and did great damage to their works.

On a queſtion put by Vice-Adm. Lord Howe, Earl Cornwallis aſſured the Houſe, that during the whole time that Lord Howe commanded the naval department in America, as well while Sir W. Howe commanded the army as afterwards, the troops met with all poſſible aſſiſtance and co-operation from the navy, and the greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between them; and that Lord Howe's character cannot be more revered by the ſeamen than it is by the ſoldiers of the American army.

To queſtions put by other members of the committee, Earl Cornwallis anſwered, That there was not a poſſibility of getting behind the enemy's lines at Brooklyn without forcing them: That it was reported the enemy had 6 or 8000 men on Long iſland. To the queſtion, In what reſpect would the purſuit of the

enemy

enemy from Brunſwick have diſtreſſed the troops under his Lordſhip's command? he anſwered, "We arrived at Brunſwick the night of the 1ſt of December; we had marched that day twenty miles through exceeding bad roads; we ſubſiſted only on the flour we found in the country, and as the troops had been conſtantly marching ever ſince their firſt entry into the Jerſeys, they had no time to bake their flour; the artillery-horſes and baggage-horſes of the army were quite tired: that ſufficiently proves that we were not in a good condition to undertake a long march: the bridge over the Raritan was broken, which cauſed a neceſſary delay of one day; if the enemy could not have paſſed at Trenton, they might have marched down the eaſt ſide of the Delaware. What I have ſaid I believe is ſufficient to prove, that we could not reap any conſiderable advantage from ſuch a purſuit."—To other queſtions he anſwered, That he took no notes or memorandums of the number of troops that arrived the firſt day at Brunſwick; but thinks there arrived two battalions of the light infantry, two battalions of Britiſh grenadiers, three battalions of Heſſian grenadiers, and he believes the 42d and 33d regiments, but is not quite clear; the fourth brigade, under Gen. Grant, were halted at Bonham town, about ſeven miles in their rear; there were likewiſe two companies of Heſſian yagers, and the 16th regiment of light dragoons: That the troops under his Lordſhip's command would undoubtedly have been in a condition to have marched forward before the 6th: That the left column of the King's troops reached Princetown an hour before ſun-ſet of the 7th, and the ſecond column between nine and ten at night: That he underſtood (but could not ſpeak with certainty) that a detachment of the enemy quitted Princetown that morning, he did not know what time: That he did not know what the number of the enemy was, but they were repreſented to be without artillery or baggage; nor did he recollect the number of the King's troops: That he could not ſay how long the enemy's rear-guard had paſſed the Delaware, on the 8th, when the firſt diviſion of the King's troops, which advanced to Trenton, reached that river; they kept a ſmall detachment in Trenton till the King's troops got near it; he did not apprehend the enemy's rear-guard were in any danger from the King's troops that day. Being aſked, "What was the impediment to purſuing the march from Brunſwick, as his Lordſhip ſaid the troops were undoubtedly able before the 6th?" he anſwered, "As the enemy had ſo much the ſtart of us, I do not ſee there was any great object for the march. We wanted reinforcement in order to leave troops for the communication between Brunſwick and Amboy. It was likewiſe neceſſary to pay ſome attention to a conſiderable body of troops then paſſing the North river under Gen. Lee." To other queſtions his Lordſhip anſwered, That he knew of no offers or promiſes made by perſons of intereſt among the rebels in Pennſylvania to Gen. Howe about Dec. 20. 1776. for furniſhing him with any aid or aſſiſtance, in caſe of his entering Pennſylvania with his army: That he knew of no other circumſtances exiſting at that time which could warrant a confidence of a peaceable or friendly diſpoſition in any very conſiderable part of the Pennſylvanians towards G. Britain: That after the action at Brooklyn the army was incamped a little out of cannon-ſhot of the lines; and he knew of no place where they could have taken poſt ſo as to diſcern what was paſſing at Brooklyn ferry: That the army was very well ſupplied with proviſions on the march from the head of the Elk to Philadelphia, partly by what was carried in the proviſion-train, and partly by the cattle and flour found in the country; and received no proviſion from the Delaware before they reached Philadelphia: That Sir William Howe was highly eſteemed by the officers and ſoldiers of his army: That his Lordſhip underſtood it to be the General's directions, that he ſhould halt at Brunſwick from the 1ſt to the 6th; but had he ſeen that he could have ſtruck a material ſtroke by moving forward, he certainly ſhould have taken it upon him to have done it.——His Lordſhip refuſed to anſwer many queſtions relating to opinion, and to private conferences and conſultations.

Maj.-Gen. Gray, to queſtions put by Gen. Howe, anſwered, That the inhabitants of the country in general were ſo very much againſt us, that they deſerted the country where-ever the Britiſh army came, ſo that no intelligence that could be depended upon could be got: That that part of America in which the witneſs was, is the ſtrongeſt country he ever

ver was in; every where hilly, and covered with wood; interſected by ravines, creeks, and marſhy grounds; every quarter of a mile a poſt fitted for ambuſcades; every hundred yards of it might be diſputed; little or no knowledge could be obtained of it by reconnoitring: That the expedition to Philadelphia proved a powerful diverſion in favour of the northern army, as it drew Gen. Waſhington and the whole continental army near 300 miles off: That the diviſion of the army before the battle of Brandywine [39. 599.] was a maſterly movement, deceived the enemy, and brought on the action with almoſt a certainty of ſucceſs: That he knew of no advantage loſt that might have been taken in conſequence of that battle: That, all circumſtances conſidered, the choice of difficulties in carrying on a war in the ſtrongeſt country in the world, with almoſt an unanimous people to defend it, and the number of troops the commander in chief had to overcome thoſe difficulties, he knew of no inſtance wherein Sir W. Howe omitted attacking the enemy, or of his not doing every thing that was poſſible to be done to promote his Majeſty's ſervice, and the honour of the Britiſh arms.

To queſtions put by other members Gen. Gray anſwered, That he believes Gen. Waſhington's army were as ſtrong at Middle Brook and Brandywine as they were at any time while he was in America; and that the American army at Brandywine he ſuppoſed to be about 15 or 16,000 regulars, beſides militia: That the order for the evacuation of Philadelphia had the very worſt effect on the well-affected inhabitants; it alienated the minds of many from us, and ſeveral that had held out till then, took oaths to the States; and that it threw an univerſal damp over the whole army.

Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, examined May 11. to queſtions put by Sir William and Lord Howe, anſwered, That he commanded a detached ſquadron, to watch the motions of the rebels on the Delaware, for ſeveral months antecedent to the arrival of the Britiſh fleet off the entrance of that river on the 30th of July 1777: That the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 250 ſail: That the navigation of the Delaware is very hazardous, eſpecially from the ſhoals, and rapidity of the tides: That the rebel water-guard, or force, on the river, to obſtruct the free navigation, conſiſted of two frigates at Philadelphia, not complete as to men; at Mud iſland, where the fort was, the Province ſhip, which mounted eighteen eighteen-pounders; the Delaware frigate, of twenty-eight twelve-pounders; two xebecks, mounting each two twenty-four-pounders in their bow, two eighteen-pounders in their ſtern, and four nine-pounders in their waiſt; a brig mounting ſixteen ſix-pounders; two floating-batteries, the one of twelve eighteen-pounders, the other of ten, theſe guns all moveable on either ſide; thirteen row-gallies, each carrying one gun from thirty-two pounds to eighteen; thirty-ſix row-boats, or half gallies, carrying a ſix-pounder or a four-pounder: theſe were the whole, he believed; except fire-rafts, of which there were twenty-five or thirty, each compoſed of five ſtages chained together; and that the proper boats of the ſhips of war were not of a conſtruction and force well adapted to oppoſe the rebel-water-guard on night-ſervice; nor were the ſmall armed veſſels of the fleet adequate to that purpoſe, the Cornwallis galley excepted.

To queſtions put by other members Sir Andrew anſwered, That when the rebels burnt any fire-rafts, the rebel-gallies never quitted them until they were within half-gun ſhot: That they ſeveral times attacked with fire-rafts the ſquadron under the witneſs's command; the firſt time, off Cheſter, where the channel is not above one third of a mile wide; that the ſhips were employed in taking men on board when the enemy came down with their fire-rafts; that they came within half gun ſhot before they lighted their fire-rafts, and they at the ſame time diſcharged their guns from the gallies; that the tide running very ſtrong, the ſhips were obliged to ſlip their cables, to prevent the fire-rafts being on board them, and to give the boats an opportunity to tow the fire-rafts off; that when the ſhips caſt, their guns reached the gallies, which drove off the gallies, and permitted the boats to tow the fire-rafts on ſhore; and that at this time the ſhips run a great riſk of running aground, but fortunately eſcaped: That he never knew an inſtance of any fire-raft laying hold of any of our ſhips, and ſetting it on fire, the precautions taken having prevented it; but that if all our fleet had arrived off Wilmington, in order to a landing of the troops, it would

then have been ſo capital an object to the enemy, that they would have employed all their force in the night to have effected ſuch a purpoſe; and that if they had done ſo, and conducted their expedition with any ſpirit, they muſt certainly have put the fleet into very great confuſion, as we had no boats whatever of a nature ſufficient to have withſtood their thirty-ſix row-boats and thirteen galliés: That if a landing had been attempted at Newcaſtle, and that, when part of the troops were landed, ſome in boats, and ſome on board, the row-gallies had obliged the ſhips to ſlip their cables to avoid the fire-rafts, or had otherwiſe by thoſe fire-rafts diſarranged the fleet, it would have been attended with the worſt of conſequences; as, in ſo narrow a channel, it would not have been poſſible for the fleet to have got under ſail in the night time: and that, though he here confines himſelf to the operation of fire-rafts in the night, yet as the enemy was alſo provided with fire-ſhips, thoſe might have been uſed alſo in the day-time with as much effect againſt a fleet at anchor, as the fire rafts might have been in the night.

Mr Montreſor, who ſerved in the corps of engineers twenty-nine years, and acted as chief engineer in North America in the campaign of 1777, in anſwer to queſtions put by Gen. and Lord Howe, ſaid, That he was ſufficiently near to the enemy's lines at Brooklyn on the 27th of Auguſt 1776 [38. 482.] to judge of their ſtrength; and that it would not have been a prudent meaſure to have aſſaulted thoſe lines on that day; that if they had been attacked we ſhould have loſt a conſiderable number of men; and he deſcribes the lines.

To queſtions put by other members, Mr Montreſor did not recollect what was the number of effective men that the King's army conſiſted of on the attack of the 27th of Auguſt; but he conceived the number of the enemy to be about 8000 to 10 000 men; whether the major part of them were veterans that had been in ſervice, was a queſtion (he ſaid) out of his profeſſional line; that he was the firſt perſon who gave the alarm of the lines of Brooklyn being evacuated; that this was at day-break, about four o'clock, and that the piquets marched to take poſſeſſion of the lines within twenty-five minutes after he made his report; that he was preſent when Sir W. Howe recalled the battalion of grenadiers, and the 33d foot, who, in purſuit of the rebels, wiſhed to attack the principal redoubt of the enemy; and that it would have been very improper to have ſuffered thoſe two corps to have ſtormed that redoubt, as the artillery was not up, there were no faſcines to fill the ditches to get over them, no axes for cutting the abbatis, no ſcaling ladders, or proper apparatus for an aſſault of ſo reſpectable a work; and that, in general, the works he had ſeen conſtructed by the rebels, were judiciouſly planned, but ill executed. He declined anſwering ſeveral queſtions.

Mr J. Galloway's Examination. [528.]

Veneris, 18° die Junii, 1779.

Examined by ſeveral members.

Q. Whether, in your opinion, the river Delaware might have been croſſed by Sir W. Howe when he came down to Trenton with the army? and your reaſons for that opinion?

A. There does not appear to me to have been any difficulties to have prevented the Britiſh army from paſſing the Delaware in December 1776, when Sir W. Howe was at Trenton. — I have ſaid, that Waſhington's force was but ſmall. The river Delaware, in and about Trenton, is from 3 to 400 yards wide. — At a place called *Bond's Ferry*, about two miles below Trenton, I think the diſtance acroſs the river is very near 300 yards. — The ground at the place I have mentioned (Bond's Ferry) is high, and perfectly commands the ſhore on the oppoſite ſide, far beyond cannon-ſhot. — Under theſe circumſtances, I know of no difficulty except that of the want of boats or pontoons.

Q. Had you any occaſion to examine particularly into the practicable means of paſſing the river?

A. At Capt. Montreſor's requeſt, I did enquire, whether there were any materials in or about Trenton, with which pontoons, boats, or rafts, might be conſtructed; and I found 48,000 feet of boards, a quantity of iron, and there was timber enough about Trenton for that purpoſe.

Q. Did you find boats or ſchoughs?

A. I did: — there were two boats in a mill-pond, at a little diſtance from Trenton. — I did not ſee them, but they were reported to me to be there.

Q. How many men would thoſe boats carry at a time?

A. I

A. I underſtand from fifty to ſixty men apiece.

Q. In what time, from the information you got, did you underſtand that a bridge might be made to paſs the river?

A. I am not competent to anſwer that queſtion from my own judgement, and I made no enquiry reſpecting it.

Q. Did you ſee the boards you mentioned?

A. I did not.

Q. When the Britiſh troops took poſſeſſion of the Jerſeys, were any proclamations iſſued, or meaſures taken, to conciliate the minds of the people to the Britiſh government?

A. There was a proclamation; I underſtood it was iſſued when Sir W. Howe was in the Jerſeys; I met with it at Brunſwick. I really cannot be certain as to the date. — By this proclamation, a pardon was offered to all ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould come in, and take the oath of allegiance to the crown, with a promiſe or engagement to protect them in their perſons and properties.

Q. In what manner were the inhabitants treated by the Britiſh troops after they received their protections?

A. Many of them, by far too many, were plundered of their property while they had their written protections in their hands, or in their houſes. — Friends to government, and thoſe diſaffected to government, ſhared the ſame fate in a great variety of inſtances.

Q. Was that laſt anſwer given from your own knowledge?

A. From my own knowledge.

Q. By whom were ſuch inhabitants plundered after they had received their protections?

A. By the Britiſh and Heſſian troops.

Q. To your own knowledge?

A. I ſhould be happy if the committee would let me explain myſelf. — It may be expected, that I ought not to anſwer, to my own knowledge, unleſs I ſaw the fact committed. — That I did not, and yet I can aſſign ſuch reaſons, I think, as will juſtify me in ſaying, — to my own knowledge. — The people plundered have come to me recently from the fact, with tears in their eyes, complaining that they were plundered of every thing they had in the world, even of the pot to boil their victuals. — I myſelf drew a memorial to Sir W. Howe, in behalf of a friend to government, who had been plundered of many thouſands in Madeira wine; — that memorial was preſented; — the determination of it was referred to Gen. Robertſon, whether the perſon ſhould be paid for the wine or not, (the perſon was Mr Sharp of New York). This was ſettled; and I have reaſon to know of many other memorials that were preſented on the like occaſions: — I have ſeen them before they were preſented. — And as to the fact of the plunder, many affidavits were taken on that occaſion by the enemies to government, which affidavits were publiſhed throughout all America *.

Q. Was you with the army when they marched from Brunſwick to Hillſborough?

A. I was.

Q. Do you know of any roads leading round Mr Waſhington's camp at Middle Brook, on the north, by which Sir W. Howe might have paſſed round between him and the Delaware and his magazines?

A. I never paſſed the road from Brunſwick to Middle Brook †.

Q. Where were Waſhington's magazines at the time you were in the camp at Middle Brook?

A. His artillery-magazine was at Norrington, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia; — the magazines of proviſions were at Lancaſter, Manheim, Carliſle, Lebanon, and I believe ſome at Reading, — all in Pennſylvania. — I ſpeak from accounts brought to me at New York, which I gave to Capt. Montreſor.

* Whoever wiſhes to be fully ſatisfied in reſpect to the indiſcriminate plunder and wanton deſtruction of property committed by the Britiſh ſoldiery, in the county of Weſt Cheſter, in the province of New York, and in the towns of Newark, Eliſabeth-town, Woodbridge, Brunſwick, Kingſton, Princetown, and Trenton in New Jerſey, are referred to the Pennſylvania Evening Poſts of April 24. 29. and May 1. 3. 10. 1777.

† The chart of New Jerſey will ſhew, that there is a road leading from Brunſwick to Bound Brook, and from thence to Eaſton; and it is known, that in that part of the country, which is full of plantations, there are many roads leading round Waſhington's camp on his right and left, in which there can be no doubt but Sir W. Howe might have paſſed with his army even to the Delaware. With theſe facts he could not be unacquainted, as the ſurveyor of the diſtrict in which Waſhington was encamped, was at the time with the Britiſh army.

Q. Could Gen Waſhington, in your opinion, in caſe Gen. Howe had croſſed the Delaware, have remained in the Jerſeys when his magazines were in the places you have mentioned?

A. He certainly might if he had choſe it, and had determined to abide the conſequences which might have attended the loſs of his magazines *.

Q. Do you apprehend he might have maintained his army with proviſions and ſtores without thoſe magazines?

A. Not in any ſhort time.

Q. Were there any preparations made by Gen. Howe for croſſing the Delaware at or before his march to Hilliſborough? and what were they?

A. There were a number of pontoons built at New York; a number of flat-bottomed boats prepared and put upon carriages;—theſe were carried to Brunſwick; taken out of the water, and put upon carriages at Brunſwick:—they were not carried to Hillſborough, but left at Brunſwick.

Q. Do you know whether the Delaware is fordable above or below Trenton?

A. In the ſummer, it is fordable in a great variety of places.—In June, July, Auguſt, September, and October, the paſſage over is interrupted occaſionally only by heavy rains.—The freſhes in the Delaware generally ſubſide in four or five days after the rain ceaſes.

Q. Were there any particular circumſtances to make you ſuppoſe it was not fordable at that time?

A. Whether the rain, while we were at Hillſborough, made it unfordable or not, I cannot tell.

Q. Have you, &c. [*To be continued.*]

* Had Waſhington remained in the Jerſeys, and permitted Sir W. Howe to have paſſed into Pennſylvania without giving him battle, his magazines of military ſtores and proviſions muſt have been loſt, if Sir W. Howe had choſen to have taken them;—Philadelphia muſt have fallen into his hands, and the whole province ſubmitted.—It is therefore not to be preſumed, that Waſhington would have been ſo deſtitute of regard for his own intereſt, as not to have either fought the Britiſh army in Jerſey, or have left his ſtrong poſt, as it is called, and paſſed over the Delaware with a view to the defence of objects upon which the force and exiſtence of his army ſo materially depended. For theſe he fought at Brandywine in Auguſt, and for theſe he muſt have fought in New Jerſey or Pennſylvania in June, or laſt them.

IRISH PARLIAMENT. [550.]

Sir Richard Heron, by order of the Lord Lieutenant, preſented to the Commons, Nov. 1. the King's anſwer to their addreſs [549.], viz.

"His Majeſty has received, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the dutiful and loyal addreſs of the Houſe of Commons; their profeſſions of zeal and affection for his perſon and government, and their congratulations on the increaſe of his family. His Majeſty has the firmeſt reliance that they will make proviſion for the debt of the nation, and the honourable ſupport of his government, and that they will manifeſt their zeal againſt the enemies of his crown and empire. The Houſe of Commons may be aſſured of his Majeſty's ſincere concern for the diſtreſſes of his kingdom of Ireland, of his affectionate attention to their intereſts, and his conſtant readineſs to concur in ſuch meaſures as ſhall, upon mature conſideration, appear moſt conducive to the general welfare of all his ſubjects."

Sir Henry Cavendiſh moved for an addreſs of thanks for the anſwer; which was agreed to, and a committee was appointed to draw it up.

When the addreſs was reported next day, Mr Yelverton objected to a clauſe in it, viz. "That his Majeſty may depend, his faithful Commons will grant the neceſſary ſupplies to ſupport his Majeſty's government." In the preſent ſituation of affairs, he ſaid, it was impoſſible that ſuch a promiſe could be carried into effect. The people of Ireland were already ſo undone, their reſources ſo exhauſted, that, as a proof of their being enthuſiaſts in loyalty, that principle alone had brought ruin, famine, and deva-ſtation on them. He would labour to prove, while a ſinew was left to ſupport his arm, or an organ was left to ſupply his tongue with motion, that it was an inſult to our miſeries, to aſk for ſupplies, when we were deprived of every means of procuring them, by the very people who wanted to drain our laſt dregs of life out. There is an arrear of debt which cannot, by any new taxes, be provided for: every article of the neceſſities or the luxuries of life is already taxed. Can you tax leather, where the wretched inhabitants cannot afford to wear ſhoes? can you tax tallow, where they burn no candles? or can you tax commerce, where none exiſts? Driven to the extremity of

of want and deſpair, why ſhould they give his Majeſty hopes of raiſing ſupplies from their beggary? or muſt they, like the wretch condemned to the rack, beſtow what remains after exiſtence to the executioner that broke him on the wheel! Nature, ſurely, could not mark the Iriſh people alone for wretchedneſs: ſhe gave them a happy climate, abundant fertility, and harbours that courted the commerce of the world. We could not be, like the Jews, curſed from generation to generation, that the favoured inhabitants of G. Britain ſhould ſmuggle our trade from us, and leave us the forlorn dependents of her charity,—the victims of her cruelty. Circumſtanced thus, there are no means now left to enable us to anſwer the demands of G. Britain, but by voting a ſhort money-bill, and making her comply with our neceſſities. Nothing elſe now remains to work our political preſervation, and Ireland will ſpill the laſt drop of her blood before ſhe is forced by acts made by an Engliſh parliament. If miniſters want to remedy theſe evils, let them diſcharge their placemen, their penſioners, thoſe reptiles of the ſtate and vermin of the conſtitution. How could miniſtry promiſe a ſupply, when they knew no means were left for that purpoſe? I want no place, having, in what regards myſelf, added a beatitude to the nine, "Bleſſed is he that expects nothing; for he will never be diſappointed."

Mr Forſter ſaid, No more was demanded than to go as far as our abilities would enable us; that a debt had been contracted, and the honour of the nation was pledged to diſcharge it.

Mr Yelverton replied, That we ought not to pledge ourſelves for what we could not pay. It was iniquity to contract debts in the hour of bankruptcy. He therefore moved, That before the word "government" in the addreſs, the following amendment ſhould be made, inſtead of the words as they then ſtood, "Your Majeſty may rely upon our ſupport, as far as the abilities of this impoveriſhed country will admit."

Sir Hercules Langriſh inſiſted, That as we had laſt ſeſſion contracted a debt of 300,000 l. we were in equity bound to pay it. The Hon. Gentleman had made it doubtful whether we were bound to pay our debts; but it was overturning every ſyſtem of public credit, to ſtart ſuch an idea where parliamentary faith had been already plighted.

He was followed by Mr Chapman, who entered into our hardſhips with as hearty a zeal as Mr Yelverton; but as they had hitherto gone through the buſineſs of the nation hand in hand, each ſide of the Houſe ſolicitous to procure the happy purpoſes of a free trade, he would recommend it to his Noble friend to withdraw his amendment, and let the addreſs ſtand in its preſent form; as the parliament of England was ſhortly to meet, and we might then expect the completion of an object through which we had gone with ſuch unanimity.

Mr Monk Maſon enlarged on the neceſſity of paying the national debt. Reſources were ſtill to be had, to ſupport the dignity and credit of parliament. The ſubſiſting duties were ſtill adequate to a great part of the burthens of the ſtate, and he doubted not the wiſdom of parliament did not want means to ſupport the contingencies of the nation.

Mr Ponſonby aſſerted, That we could make no debt good but that due laſt ſeſſion of parliament; promiſed to go into a ſhort money-bill with all his heart, at any time it ſhould be deemed neceſſary, during this ſeſſion, if his Hon. friend would withdraw his motion, to preſerve that unanimity which had hitherto marked the proceedings of parliament.

Mr Yelverton ſaid, he ſhould be ſatisfied to withdraw his motion, but that an Hon. friend (Mr G——n) had whiſpered him his ſuſpicions that ſome new taxes were intended.

Sir H. Langriſh roſe to exculpate himſelf from any knowledge of new taxes; whereupon Mr Yelverton withdrew his motion.

Mr Daly roſe to obſerve, that he believed his Hon. friend had reaſons for his ſuſpicions. The train of public meaſures had in general been deceitful, and adminiſtration were no more to be truſted now than when they had given former proofs of duplicity.

Mr Putland (member for Ratoath) ſaid, That the King's anſwer contained nothing which could amount to a relief of this country: That, "upon mature deliberation," Ireland was to be relieved along with the reſt of the Britiſh dominions, which, by parity of circumſtances, almoſt precluded hope from forming a wiſh towards it. It is the practice of England to procraſtinate: it is the practice of miniſtry not to do any thing for any part of the Britiſh dominions, which

is for the intereſt or wiſhes of that part of the empire. Beaten by one power, bullied by others, deſpiſed by all,—this, and this only, is the time to make them do us right. The murderous and impious trade-laws, which reduced this country to the worſt pitch of calamity, ſhould now be annihilated, never to know a hated return.

Mr Corry (member for Newry) thought a ſhort money-bill the only means of obtaining a free trade. He muſt conſider the anſwer of the King as the anſwer of the miniſter: After bringing you to poverty,—after reproaching you with that misfortune, by ſeeming to pity your diſtreſs, without applying a relief to it, he compaſſionately bids you wring more out of your poverty. He bids the beggar part with his laſt rag, and thank Heaven that he had left him a ſkin to cover him. The Hon. member would not, however, deviate from the general ſenſe of the Houſe, and he would wait as p•ient as the reſt for the "fuller hand of future charity."

The addreſs was then agreed to.

The Lords having met Nov. 3. purſuant to adjournment, the Lord Chancellor reported from the Lord Lieutenant the King's anſwer to their Lordſhips addreſs, viz.

"His Majeſty returns his thanks to the Houſe of Lords for their dutiful and loyal addreſs. The aſſurances they therein give of their affection for his Majeſty's perſon and Royal family, and of their zeal for the honour of his government, cannot fail of being particularly agreeable to his Majeſty in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs. His Majeſty receives with great concern the repreſentation made by the Houſe of Lords of the diſtreſſes of the kingdom of Ireland; and being ever anxious to promote the intereſts of all his ſubjects, will readily concur in every meaſure that ſhall appear, upon mature deliberation, moſt likely to contribute to their general happineſs and proſperity. The attention which the Houſe of Lords are determined to give to ſuch domeſtic regulations as are neceſſary to promote the happineſs and welfare of his ſubjects of Ireland, is extremely ſatisfactory to his Majeſty; and they may always depend upon his Majeſty's favour, protection, and ſupport."

An addreſs of thanks for his Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer was agreed to, and a committee was appointed to prepare it.

On the 10th of November Mr Kearney obſerved, that there had been for the laſt year a decreaſe in the revenue of the hearth-money of 1029 l.; and as that tax principally lay on the poor, above 100,000 of whom had been ſet adrift, as wanderers, in the preſent deplorable times, he thought, in juſtice and humanity, ſom thing ſhould be done to eaſe that wretched body of people; he, therefore, previous to ſuch relief, moved, "That the proper officers do lay before the Houſe an account of all the hearths in this kingdom; ſpecifying the number in each houſe."

Mr Monk Maſon ſaid, that there was an increaſe of 715 l. in the hearth-money collection of the two laſt years.

Sir Boyle Roche ſaid, that by far the greater number of cabbins in this kingdom which paid hearth-money had no chimney at all, but the common apertures which received the air, diſcharged the ſmoke; he therefore moved, "That the proper officers do lay before the Houſe, the number of houſes in this kingdom, on the 25th of November 1778, with only one hearth."

Mr Grattan roſe, not to oppoſe the humane intentions of any member, but to point out the inconveniency of introducing any matter at this time which could give government a pretext for a new tax in the room of it. If the hearth-money was aboliſhed, a window-tax might be introduced in the room of it; and it would be highly hazardous to introduce any new tax at the preſent hour. It was dangerous even to touch upon a new tax, though in the room of an old one. Aſſociations were already formed all over Ireland, by the conſtituents who returned the members of that Houſe, never to give a vote to that member who ſhould accede to any new tax, until the deſires of the people and parliament were fulfilled, by granting to Ireland a free trade to enable her to raiſe theſe taxes. It were therefore better to let all buſineſs ſtand ſtill until we received an anſwer to our requiſition from England. It was irkſome, impolitic, and dangerous, to propoſe any tax until this important end is attained.

Mr Kearney, in ſupport of his motion, deſcribed the pitiable ſituation of the poor of this kingdom: ſo miſerable, indeed, were they, that when the collec-

tion

tion of this tax came about, they were obliged to ſell or pledge the only vehicle which boiled their food, or the ſcanty covering which defended them from the inclemency of the ſeaſon.

The Rt Hon. Mr Brownlow ſincerely wiſhed, that every thing was left at the preſent as it is. The people expected relief, and till that was accompliſhed, new taxes would only ſerve to exaſperate them. So far he coincided with the ſentiments of the Hon. member who made that obſervation. But when he mentioned that there were aſſociations formed to frighten the members of that Houſe, to vote contrary to their judgements, he looked upon it in an extraordinary light indeed,—and ſuch as the dignity of parliament ſhould ſpurn at.

Mr Grattan ſaid, he conſidered a member of parliament but as the ſervant of his conſtituents, whoſe commands he was as much bound to obey, as the ſervants of the crown were the royal authority. If a member deviates from the intention of his conſtituents, they were authoriſed to aſſociate againſt him to reprobate his proceedings,—and never truſt him with their rights again. A free trade was the only balm which could heal the preſent diſſenſions, and quiet the diſtractions of the people; and they held it lawful to eſteem that man an enemy to their liberties who ſhould vote for new taxes, without obtaining a freedom of commerce.

Mr Ponſonby applauded the motive of humanity which dictated the motion of the Hon. member in behalf of the poor; but as it might be attended with ill conſequences, he begged that the inveſtigation of hearth-money ſhould be deferred till next ſeſſion.

Mr Kearney contended, that it could be ſtill done without any inconvenience, by taking the tax off the poor, and laying it on the more opulent; that it would ſerve to keep the lower claſs loyal and grateful to the preſent government, and eaſe them of a load whoſe weight would ſcarcely be felt by the others.

The Attorney-General entered into the bad conſequences of giving falſe hopes to the poor. It would circulate among them, and a diſappointment operate like wildfire. If gentlemen wanted that their poor tenantry ſhould be eaſed, let it be transferred to the landlords. Let them pay the hearth-money of the poor, and not charge an additional rent for it. [Here Mr Kearney declared he always paid for his own tenants.] The gentleman has led the example, let others follow it. An Hon. Gentleman had thrown out a threat in conſequence of aſſociations. The gentleman and he were of different ſentiments. People are tired of aſſociations. As a lawyer, he thought himſelf authoriſed to ſay, that any perſon who ſhould aſſociate againſt him for following the impulſe of his ſentiments in parliament, ſhould be diſqualified from ever having a vote. It was a new and unconſtitutional mode of dictating to parliament; and though the tide of faction and popular prejudices ſhould purſue him to the circle wherein he then ſtood, he ſhould declare his ſentiments, tho' he ſhould fall by the bayonet. A ſhort money-bill he was ſtrongly againſt. The public in general had formed a very wrong idea, that the ſervants of the crown had given into it. He could aſſert it was foreign from their thoughts. He was ever ready to ſubmit to conviction, but no threats of aſſociations ſhould ever impreſs his mind with fear. Let the Hon. Gentleman who is ſuch an advocate for aſſociations, borrow aid from conviction, not from outrage, and coincide with the ſervants of the crown, in every meaſure which can reconcile, and not divide, the people. Statues ſhould be reared to the man who engages in ſo noble a cauſe; and he would then, indeed, deſerve the thanks of his country.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh thought himſelf bound to oppoſe the indignity levelled againſt the Houſe, by threatening the wrath of the people againſt ſuch as ſhould not think it expedient to obey their dictates: but when the language of ſedition had gone ſo openly abroad, as to be met with in almoſt every company and every paper, it is no wonder it ſhould find its way into this Houſe. But he truſted, that gentlemen had too high an opinion of their own freedom, to ſuffer themſelves to be bullied. If they followed the advice of their conſtituents, againſt the conviction of their own reaſon, they were ſlaves, unworthy of forming a part of the legiſlature of a free nation. It is true, aſſociations had done great ſervice; they, perhaps, prevented an invaſion, and may be productive of further good; —ſome of the greateſt and the beſt men in the nation were inrolled under that head: but no perſon could deny but the

main

main body of the people were tampered with by ſeditious men, which might, in the end, overturn all the bleſſings of aſſociation and the conſtitution. Conſtituents may adviſe, but cannot compel; and I ſhould be happier in falling by the ſide of my Rt Hon. friend, who adverted to the ſame evils, in contending for the freedom of this Houſe, than ſee it fall a ſacrifice to the purpoſe of ſedition. Every gentleman knew that ſedition was abroad: what were the public papers filled with but ſedition? he read ſedition every day, though he publiſhed none.

Mr Grattan advanced many reaſons why a ſhort money-bill can be the only means of ſalvation to this country. It was the ſentiments of his conſtituents, and he could not blame them for covenanting againſt him, ſhould he break through their inſtructions. He advanced no doctrine but what the conſtitution could juſtify. The voice of the people, and not the voice of that Houſe, was to be attended to. To whom do you owe the octennial bill? — to the people. They aſſociated to inſtruct the ſervants they had ſent into parliament. That glorious bulwark of our liberties the people compelled their members to obtain. This country, therefore, can alone be ſaved by the people. They demand a free trade; — they cannot exiſt as a people without it; and they find their rights will not be reſtored but by aſſociation. Suppoſe it was the Bill of Rights which remained to be brought into exiſtence, and my conſtituents ſaid, "If you do not vote for ſo excellent a meaſure, I ſhall refuſe my future concurrence for ſending you to parliament:" is it unconſtitutional to comply with ſuch requeſt? The preſent demand for a free trade is exactly ſimilar. Moſt of the members of that Houſe aſſociated againſt Great Britain, neither to import nor conſume her manufactures; — was it a greater crime in the people to aſſociate for the general good, than the members of that Houſe? The conſtituents have a right to vote againſt what they deem inimical to their intereſts; and it was aſſociation which brought about the great event which made an unanimous parliament emerge from the ſtupefaction of ſlavery, and addreſs the Sovereign for a free trade to this realm. It was aſſociation which made them aſſemble, and made them bear you, Mr Speaker, on their breaſts, to deliver this addreſs; therefore no member ſhould deſpiſe aſſociation. One excuſe, indeed, might be made for the Rt Hon. Gentleman; for, if he underſtood, that the impoſing new taxes was meant to diſcharge the ſalaries of the ſervants of the crown, he was right, and that charity which begins at home needed no extenuation.

Mr Ogle thought that member who did not vote according to the advice of his conſtituents, did not properly repreſent them. The Houſe had already voted, that nothing but a free trade could ſave you from ruin; it were therefore ridiculous to grant any ſupplies, without taking away the reſtrictions on our commerce.

Mr Grattan obſerved, that a Rt Hon. Gentleman bid him check the ſource of his popular declamation, and aid the endeavours of government. Did he mean by thoſe expreſſions, that he ſhould adviſe the diſembodying the preſent national force, diſarm the volunteers, and put an end to aſſociation? He could not, he dare not mean it, nor that they were not as loyal a people as the King poſſeſſes.

Mr Kearney withdrew his motion.

A letter, dated, Dublin, Nov. 15. gives the following account. "The preſent expectation of a free trade, or rather the dread of a diſappointment, agitates every body here to a degree that you can hardly imagine. In order to compel England to grant it, the popular meaſure is, to grant a money-bill for ſix months only, inſtead of two years. Some of the beſt friends of this country, and the moſt ſenſible, ſeem to think this not the moſt effectual or eligible mode, as being too early a declaration of war, till we are refuſed what we aſk; but they are obliged to concur, as it is the only ſcheme which can procure unanimity among oppoſition; and is ſo much the popular cry, that every county and town have inſtructed their repreſentatives to vote for it. This morning the mob, not chuſing to wait for a parliamentary deciſion, took the matter into their own hands; and were of opinion, that the ſureſt method of ſucceeding in their object of a free trade, was to deſtroy the enemies of Ireland: they therefore marked out the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Cavendiſh, and Mr Monk Maſon, as the proper objects of their fury. About twelve o'clock they marched in a prodigious croud to Mr Scot the Attorney-General's houſe, with an

an intention of deſtroying it; but ſome of the patriotic leaders of this country contrived to get there, mixed among the mob, and at laſt perſuaded them to leave it, after deſtroying the windows on the ground-floor, and doing ſome ſmall damage to the next ſtory. They then marched to the Parliament-houſe, and detached a body to the four courts, who ruſhed in, in ſearch of Mr Scot, who kept out of their way, and of Sir Henry Cavendiſh, whom they ſeemed particularly anxious to find. On being diſappointed, they returned to the Parliament-houſe, and ſwore all the members whom they could find going in, to be true to Ireland, and vote for a ſhort money-bill. The lawyers corps were applied to by the Lord Mayor, and told, that they ſtood high with the people, and would probably be able to diſperſe them. They met, and agreed to go unarmed among them. Mr Yelverton, who is one of the corps, made a moſt excellent ſpeech, which had great effect on them, and was wonderfully well timed: they then decoyed them away, marched them through ſeveral of the ſtreets, and prevailed on them to diſperſe. A ſtrong guard is now on the Attorney-General's houſe, and I believe on thoſe of the two other gentlemen."

In the evening, the following hand-bill was diſperſed throughout the city and liberties.

"To the Friends of their country.

Gentlemen,

The lawyers corps marched this day, unarmed, to the Parliament-houſe, in order to ſhew their friendſhip for you, and to aſſure you, that it is their firm perſuaſion, that the meaſure which you are purſuing will be carried through parliament by a great majority, if not unanimouſly; and that nothing is ſo likely to prevent the ſucceſs of it, as your aſſembling again about the Parliament-houſe as you did this day.

Monday, November 15. 1779."

Next day, in the Houſe of Commons, Mr R. Hutchinſon took notice of this tumult. It is true, (ſaid he), that the people of this country find themſelves in a bad ſituation; experience had led them to place no confidence in miniſterial promiſes, and the miniſters on this ſide were as little to be truſted as thoſe on the other ſide of the water: yet, ſorry he muſt be to mention, that yeſterday's proceedings were ſuch an outrage on the freedom of that Houſe, as loudly called for the reſentment and interpoſition of Parliament. The legiſlature of this country was now ſo ſituate, as to draw the eyes of all Europe upon their conduct; it ſhould therefore be marked with the dignity which becomes the repreſentatives of a free people. He was informed, that the life of a Rt Hon. Gentleman was ſought after, and his houſe attempted to be deſtroyed: this was an extremity of violence which required an immediate remedy. The idea had got abroad, that the Rt Hon. Gentleman had intended to vote againſt a ſhort money-bill: it was indifferent to him what might be the intentions of gentlemen, but he contended, whether a member of that Houſe voted for a long or ſhort money-bill, he ſhould be ſupported in the free delivery of his ſentiments, and protected as an independent member of that Houſe, let his political ſentiments incline him as he may.

The Speaker called the attention of the Houſe to the recital of the indignity he had himſelf met with. He informed them, That his carriage had been ſtopped on his way to the Houſe, the door thereof opened, and ſeven or eight men came forward from among the reſt, and tendered him a book to vote for a ſhort money-bill: That the ſerjeant at arms having interpoſed, and informed them that he was the Speaker, they ſuffered him to proceed: That in ſome time after, the Lord Mayor came to that Houſe, and waiting on him in his chamber, requeſted to know what conduct he ſhould purſue on this occaſion: That he adviſed him to exert the civil power: and ſhould that prove ineffectual, to wait on the Lord Lieutenant to requeſt his Excellency's orders for the attendance of the military: That this was all that came within his knowledge of this affair, which he thought it incumbent to lay before the Houſe.

Mr Foſter, in a few words, adverted to the ſame outrage. After which,

The Attorney-General roſe, and ſaid, that though he had not determined to trouble the Houſe ſo early on this head; yet, as another gentleman entered into it, he could not ſuppreſs his ſentiments on the occaſion. While I yet conſider myſelf in ſafety, (ſaid he), will the Houſe liſten to me? The object of popular prejudice, and almoſt a victim to miſrepre-

ſentation and violence, will I be permitted, as a free member of this Houſe, to look round with ſafety, and ſay, there can now be found an aſylum from an enraged and miſtaken multitude? Early in this ſeſſion, I was called upon, to know what meaſures were intended to be purſued by government? As Attorney-General, and conſequently a ſervant of the crown, I declared ſo much of the intentions of government as I was authoriſed to do, or came within my knowledge. I declared, that I was then laying down a plan for a free trade, which would be the benefit of Great Britain to accept as a matter of mutual advantage. Was this a meaſure hoſtile to the people? Did the delivery of ſuch ſentiments deſerve the dagger of murder and deſtruction? Or was it ſufficient ſtimulation to endanger the life of an innocent, unfortunate female? I have ſaid, that I was a ſervant of the crown, wiſhing to do my duty, while I entertained as warm an attachment for the intereſts of my country as any other member who repreſented it. Can I therefore be deemed a burden upon the ſtate for doing my duty? [Here Mr Hutchinſon explained the meaning of ſome things he had delivered.]

The other day I was aſked a queſtion by the gentleman who led the van of oppoſition on the other ſide of the Houſe. I candidly delivered my opinion, as well of a ſhort money-bill, as my ſentiments of the idea which was ſtarted to compel the members of this Houſe to act contrary to their opinion: I declared, that I would ſooner fall by the bayonet, than a reſtriction ſhould be laid upon the freedom of debate in parliament. My words and my intentions were miſrepreſented abroad; and for this, a ſet of ruffians ſurround my houſe, demoliſh my houſe, and pour into the chamber of my wife, threatening my life in the language of murder and execration! When the extenſion of trade was mentioned, it would have been diſhoneſt to be ſilent: and though I, perhaps, did not concur in the immediate mode adopted by other gentlemen; yet, I ſhall be bold to mention, I am as much a friend to the welfare of my country as any of them can be. — O! I am aſhamed to go on! The conſtitution, the laws, the police of a civilized country received a ſtab, and juſtice was more ſeverely injured than the individual! I was informed in the courts of juſtice, that a mob had broke into my houſe, and were proceeding to exceſſes of the moſt unbounded nature. I was ſenſible of the particular ſituation of part of my family, and knew that murder muſt be the conſequence of extremity. I ſet out to meet theſe people, to remove their prejudices, and convince them, how much they had been impoſed upon. Whilſt I ſet out for this purpoſe, they called into the four courts, demanded in a riotous manner for me, and declared their open intentions of murdering me. I called upon the chief magiſtrate, repaired to my houſe, and found it, -- not like the reſidence of an individual, whoſe ultimate wiſhes were to be of uſe to the community, and flattered himſelf with the reciprocal friendſhip of his fellow-citizens, — but worſe than the habitation of cruelty and injuſtice, worſe than the devoted fate of a midnight-brothel; — I found it a ruin, an object of public reſentment, and intemperate ſedition. — But let us paſs this ungrateful image by, and beg leave to make a few reflections on the conſequences. If a free trade is to be purchaſed, let it not be by murder! — Could I be found an enemy to my country, my ſingle voice extends not to the retaliation of bloodſhed. — Let them come forth whom I have offended, and ſuffer the injured impulſe of manhood to operate with clamour; but let me not be ſwallowed in the vortex of popular reſentment, for acting as a ſervant of the crown, and ſpeaking my honeſt ſentiments. If Great Britain and this kingdom are to contend in ſome degree, let it be the contention of parliament, and not that of needy, ragged, ill-judging men, who have not ſufficient ſenſe to know the real intereſts of their country. — I have received letters from anonymous hands, which inform me of the moſt deſperate intentions: one ſays I ſhall be ſtrangled; — another, that I will be torn by the hands of the multitude. Let it be ſo, I ſhall go unarmed. Wrapped up in conſcious integrity, and armed with a tenfold ſhield of honeſty, I fear not the threats of a miſtaken crowd, nor the invidious attacks of my ſecret enemies.

Sir Nicholas Lawleſs, Mr Coote, Mr Grattan, and Mr Foſter, called upon the Houſe to ſupport its own dignity, by ſhowing a proper reſentment for the uſage received by the Attorney-General.

Sir Lucius O'Brien moved, That the reſolutions

reſolutions entered into by that Houſe in the year 1759, againſt tumultuous riſings, be read, and again agreed to by the Houſe on the preſent occaſion; as alſo, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant be addreſſed to iſſue a proclamation, and offer a reward for apprehending the aggreſſors who impeded the intercourſe of the members to that Houſe, and deſtroyed the houſe and property of the Rt Hon. John Scott, his Majeſty's Attorney-General.

Mr Yelverton declared, though no man felt more indignation than he did at the inſult offered to the Houſe in the perſon of the Speaker, yet he could not help thinking, that the affair of yeſterday was rather exaggerated, and the proceedings of the mob magnified to a greater pitch than actually occurred. As affairs were not carried to ſo violent a pitch, he did not think they ſhould enter into the reſolutions of the year 1759. He did not wiſh that Great Britain ſhould ſuppoſe that to be the buſineſs of a mob, which was the earneſt reſolve of the firſt characters in this kingdom. Times were altered. It was not the ſame now as in the year 1759, nor was the mob ſo outrageous; though every thing might be expected from an enraged and famiſhed people. Though the military had marched through their body, they were not diſperſed, until the volunteer company of lawyers (to whom he belonged) came unarmed, and peaceably perſuaded them to go home. He therefore wiſhed that humanity and not coercion was uſed, as it was probable it was not the ſame body of people who ſurrounded that Houſe who committed the outrages on the Rt Hon. Gentleman, nor was the Houſe to interpoſe on every occaſion where the people expreſſed their reſentment againſt any perſon they might ſuppoſe an enemy to their intereſts in parliament.

The Attorney-General ſaid, he thought himſelf called upon in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner. The injuries he had ſuffered were notorious, and he felt no pleaſure in miſ-ſtating the conduct of his countrymen. Could the Hon. Gentleman deem the intentions of murder of ſo little conſequence? His houſe was like a guard-houſe, full of armed men. Did his public or private character deſerve the effects of ſuch exaſperated cruelty? He was aſhamed that any man could be found to palliate ſuch an outrage, or declare himſelf before that Houſe the *Seneſchal of Sedition*. He did not expect from the Hon. Gentleman ſuch an extraordinary ſpecimen of political morality.

Mr D. Daly ſaid, he ſhould be ſorry that the dignity of debate in that Houſe ſhould degenerate into private altercation. The reſolutions of that Houſe were not to inform England, that they were influenced by the lawleſs attempts of any ſet of people. The freedom of the Houſe had been interrupted, and the dignity of Parliament offended. He therefore muſt ſecond his Hon. friend in the motion.

Mr Yelverton thought himſelf called upon in a peculiar manner. He did not underſtand why any member ſhould arrogate ſuch conſequence to himſelf, as to browbeat the independence of any perſon who had the honour of ſitting in that Houſe. Does the Rt Hon. Gentleman wiſh to intimate, that he alone ſhould be free, and I a ſlave, when he ventures ſuch a length as to intimate to me the unwarrantable term of *Seneſchal of Sedition?* I deſpiſe the appellation.

Here Mr Daly called to order, and addreſſed the chair to interpoſe, that whatever had been ſaid there ſhould go no farther lengths.

The Attorney General ſaid, he had enemies enough without doors, and wiſhed for none within the walls of that Houſe.

Mr Yelverton ſaid, he muſt riſe again, to expreſs his amazement at the words of the Rt Hon. Gentleman. He ſaid, the ſcope of his addreſs to the Houſe was, that nothing ſhould paſs there, which could give England an impreſſion that their proceedings were influenced by a mob. The Rt Hon. Gentleman expreſſed his reſentment that his parliamentary conduct ſhould be arraigned, though he had, for a ſeries of years, been known to be the *uniform drudge of adminiſtration*.

The whole Houſe was now in an uproar, and called to order. A motion was made, That the Houſe ſhould be cleared, but not ſeconded; when the Attorney-General made an apology; which, after ſome debate, was followed by a conceſſion from Mr Yelverton. After which, the Speaker, having called them ſeparately, made them ſhake hands, and effected a thorough reconciliation.

Mr Fitzgibbon expreſſed his hearty deteſtation of the behaviour of the mob:

ſaid, That one of them, being aſked, at the door of the houſe, What could provoke them to aſſemble in that manner? replied, by aſking, "Why did you ſend for us?" Said, That hand-bills had been diſtributed to forward the ſame deſign; and thought a proclamation ſhould be iſſued to apprehend theſe diſturbers of the peace, and the author of the hand-bill.

Sir Lucius O'Brien moved, "That the Houſe do preſent an addreſs to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, requeſting him to iſſue a proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending the rioters who obſtructed the members going to the Houſe of Commons on the 15th November inſtant, and who alſo injured the houſe and property of a Rt Hon. member of that Houſe." It was agreed to *nem. con.* and a committee appointed to prepare an addreſs.

Sir Lucius O'Brien moved, "That the Rt Hon. the Lord Mayor, and the High Sheriffs of the city of Dublin, be ordered to attend the Houſe to-morrow." Ordered accordingly.

On the 17th, after a debate, or converſation, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were called to the bar, and the Speaker read the reſolution of the Houſe, in ſubſtance, — "This Houſe reſents with juſt indignation, the outrages committed on Monday againſt ſome of its members, and have no doubt of your having uſed your endeavours to ſuppreſs them. Your humanity deſerves commendation, but think, that, on a future occaſion, too much lenity might be fatal to the innocent. I have it now in order to expreſs the approbation of the Houſe on your conduct; and exhort you, in future, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the peace, by the powers the laws have inveſted you with. The Houſe alſo deſires I ſhould expreſs their approbation of the ſpirited and proper conduct of the Aldermen Horan and Warren."

"A Proclamation,

Offering a reward for diſcovering, apprehending, and convicting, the perſons riotouſly aſſembled before the Parliament-houſe, on Monday the 15th day of November inſt. in order to obſtruct and inſult the members of both Houſes of Parliament attending the public ſervice of the nation.

Buckingham.

Whereas on the 15th day of this inſtant November, a dangerous and inſolent multitude of people did riotouſly aſſemble before the Parliament-houſe, and in the avenue and paſſages leading thereto, and did illegally and audaciouſly obſtruct and inſult ſeveral members of both Houſes of Parliament, attending the public ſervice of the nation; and did, on the ſame day, alſo attack and greatly injure the houſe of a member of the Houſe of Commons, and did make uſe of many threats againſt the perſons of ſeveral members of ſaid Houſe; and did commit ſeveral other enormities, in manifeſt violation of the rights and privileges of Parliament:

We, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in order to bring ſuch enormous offenders to condign puniſhment, do, in purſuance of the addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by this our proclamation, publiſh and declare, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall, within the ſpace of ſix calendar months from the date hereof, diſcover any of the perſons who committed any of the offences aforeſaid, or who adviſed, encouraged, inſtigated, moved, ſtimulated, or incited the perſons concerned in the ſaid offences, or any of them, to commit the ſame; ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering, ſhall receive, as a reward, the ſum of five hundred pounds Sterling for each of the firſt three perſons who ſhall be apprehended, and convicted thereof.

And we do likewiſe publiſh and declare, That if any of the perſons concerned in the ſaid offences, ſhall diſcover any of the perſons who committed any of the ſaid offences, ſo that ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovered ſhall be convicted thereof, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering, ſhall, over and above the ſaid reward, receive his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon for ſaid offence.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command the Lord Mayor of the ſaid city of Dublin, and of the county of Dublin, and all Sheriffs and other magiſtrates and officers, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, and all other his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, that they uſe their utmoſt endeavours and diligence in ſuppreſſing all riots and unlawful aſſemblies, and in apprehending, and cauſing to be apprehended, all and every the perſons concerned in ſaid audacious offences.

And we do hereby further charge and command, That all and every the ſaid offenders who ſhall be diſcovered, be

proſecuted

proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the law.

Given at the Council-chamber in Dublin, the 19th day of November 1779."

The preſent humour of the people is ſtrongly marked, in a letter, dated, Dublin, Nov. 25. viz. "Yeſterday the dye was caſt, a glorious revolution took place, and the power of Britiſh miniſters over this long oppreſſed, this long-enſlaved country, deſtroyed! the hateful ſyſtem of taxation broken, and unjuſt influence loſt for ever, in a glorious patriotic majority of 170 to 47: A majority including the whole landed intereſt, ALL the knights of the ſhire (two excepted), ALL the citizens, and all the free burghs, to a minority compoſed of beggarly penſioners, wretched hangers-on, and ſome proſtitute placemen;—for all the placemen were not in this laſt number! Some there were, to their immortal honour be it told, whoſe love to their country roſe ſuperior to all other conſiderations, and urged them, on this great occaſion, to join the friends of Ireland. It would be injuſtice to conceal their names. Let the tools of former adminiſtrations, now grown gray in the ſervice of corruption, bluſh, if in their callous hearts one fibre of ſenſibility remains, when they are told, that amongſt the voters againſt taxation were, the Rt Hon. J. H. Hutchinſon, Provoſt of Trinity College, &c. &c. &c.; the Rt Hon. Henry Flood, one of the Vice Treaſurers of Ireland; the Rt Hon. John Foſter, Cuſtomer of Dublin, &c.; the Rt Hon. Col. Burton, Teller of the Exchequer; the Rt Hon. W. H. Burgh, Prime Serjeant; Luke Gardiner, Eſq; Surveyor of the Cuſtoms, &c.—It is remarked, that there never was, perhaps, a miniſter ſo diſagreeably circumſtanced as Sir R. Heron was yeſterday. He knew, during the whole debate, as indeed he has known ſince the firſt day of the ſeſſion, that Britiſh miniſters and Britiſh councils have loſt their weight in this kingdom; and that the oppreſſion of Ireland has made its parliament aſſume their proper dignity: yet he found himſelf obliged, in anſwer to the reproaches from the other ſide of the water, "That the Iriſh Chief Governor, and his Secretary, affecting popularity more than the King's buſineſs, gave up every queſtion to the popular ſide, without a trial; and deſiring poſitively, that on the firſt occaſion government ſhould try what force they had to depend on," to let a trial of ſtrength take place: in conſequence of which, Lord Buckinghamſhire's adminiſtration has had the mortifying diſgrace to find itſelf, on a great, important, and leading queſtion, left in the moſt contemptible minority ever ſeen in either kingdom ſince the exiſtence of parliaments."

The penſion-liſt of Ireland, from Ladyday 1775 to Ladyday 1777, amounted to 208,944 l. and from 1777 to 1779, to 119,962 l.; ſo there was a ſaving of 88,981 l. in the laſt two years. In the military penſions in Ireland, during the above time, there was a decreaſe of 4356 l.; but then there was an increaſe upon the ſtaff of 2407 l. Incidents, viz. ſecret ſervice, &c. in Ireland, from 1775 to 1777, was 33,774 l. from thence to 1779, 32,494 l.; ſo that there was a ſaving of 1279 l. The debt of Ireland up to Ladyday 1779, amounted to 1,062,597 l. but neither the tontine-annuities, nor the arrears due, were included, nor the deficiencies for ſeven months before in the ſeveral departments of the revenue.

A liſt of penſions on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, of 1000 l. and upwards, dated, Dublin, Nov. 11. 1779. [29 521]

ROYAL FAMILY.

Princeſs Amelia	1000
Princeſs Auguſta	5000
Duke of Glouceſter	3000
Duke of Cumberland	3000

Rewards for SERVICES.

Ld Hawke, for beating Conflans, whoſe fleet, it is thought, intended convoying a number of tranſports to invade Ireland	2000
Lord Camden, for being an Engliſh patriot	2300
Pr. Ferdinand of Brunſwick, for amaſſing 500,000 l. as commander of the allied army, and driving the French out of a part of the electorate of Hanover, whoſe fee-ſimple is, at moſt, valued at 250,000 l.	5100
Counteſs of Yarmouth	4000

Rewards for NO SERVICES.

Anne Palmer	1000
Auguſtus Schutz	1200
Executors of the late Lord Grantham	2000
George Charles [30 413]	1000
Jerry Dyſon	1000
John Milbanke	1070
Hugh Valence Jones	1070
John Neſbit	1000
Robert Fitzgerald	1000
Edward Moore	1000

AME-

AMERICA. [560.]

"*Philadelphia, July* 10. On Sunday laſt, the 4th of July, being the anniverſary of the day which gave freedom to the vaſt republic of America, the Congreſs, the Preſident and Council of the State, with other the civil and military officers, and a number of principal gentlemen and ladies, at twelve o'clock, attended at the Roman chapel, agreeable to invitation received from the miniſter-plenipotentiary of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. A *Te Deum* was performed on the occaſion, to the great ſatisfaction of all preſent. And his Excellency's chaplain delivered a ſhort and elegant addreſs to his audience, of which we have been favoured with the following copy.

"GENTLEMEN,

WE are aſſembled to celebrate the anniverſary of that day which Providence had marked in its eternal decrees to become the epocha of liberty and independence to the Thirteen United States of America. That Being whoſe almighty hand holds all exiſtence beneath his dominion, undoubtedly produces in the depth of his wiſdom thoſe great events which aſtoniſh the univerſe, and of which the moſt preſumptuous, though inſtrumental in accompliſhing them, dare not attribute to themſelves the merit. But the finger of God is ſtill more peculiarly evident in that happy, that glorious revolution, which calls forth this day's feſtivity. He hath ſtruck the oppreſſors of a people, free and peaceable, with that ſpirit of deluſion which renders the wicked artificers of their own proper misfortunes. Permit me, my dear brethren, citizens of the United States, to addreſs you on this occaſion. It is that God, that all-powerful God, who hath directed your ſteps, when you knew not where to apply for counſel; who, when you were without arms, fought for you with the ſword of eternal juſtice; who, when you were in adverſity, poured into your hearts the ſpirit of courage, of wiſdom, and fortitude; and who hath at length raiſed up for your ſupport a youthful ſovereign, whoſe virtues bleſs and adorn a ſenſible, a faithful, and a generous nation. This nation has blended her intereſts with your intereſts, and her ſentiments with yours. She participates in all your joys, and this day unites her voice to yours, at the foot of the altars of the eternal God, to celebrate that glorious revolution, which has placed the ſons of America among the free and independent nations of the earth.

We have nothing now to apprehend but the anger of Heaven, or that the meaſure of our guilt ſhould exceed the meaſure of his mercy. Let us then proſtrate ourſelves at the feet of the immortal God, who holds the fate of empires in his hands, and raiſes them up at his pleaſure, or breaks them down to duſt. Let us conjure him to enlighten our enemies, and to diſpoſe their hearts to enjoy that tranquillity and happineſs which the revolution we now celebrate has eſtabliſhed for a great part of the human race. Let us implore him to conduct us by that way which his providence has marked out, for arriving at ſo deſirable an end. Let us offer unto him hearts imbued with ſentiments of reſpect, conſecrated by religion, by humanity, and patriotiſm. Never is the auguſt miniſtry of his altars more acceptable to his divine Majeſty, than when it lays at his feet homages, offerings, and vows, ſo pure, ſo worthy the common parent of mankind. God will not reject our joy, for he is the author of it; nor will he reject our prayers, for they aſk but the full accompliſhment of the decrees he hath manifeſted. Filled with this ſpirit, let us in concert with each other raiſe our hearts to the Eternal; let us implore his infinite mercy to be pleaſed to inſpire the rulers of both nations with the wiſdom and force neceſſary to perfect what it hath begun. Let us, in a word, unite our voices to beſeech him to diſpenſe his bleſſing upon the counſels and the arms of the allies, that we may ſoon enjoy the ſweets of peace, which will cement the union, and eſtabliſh the proſperity of the two empires. It is with this view that we ſhall cauſe that canticle to be performed, which the cuſtom of the Catholic Church hath conſecrated, to be at once a teſtimonial of public joy, a thankſgiving for benefits received from Heaven, and a prayer for the continuance of its mercies." *Boſton Evening Poſt.*

On the 3d of Auguſt arrived at Boſton, a frigate of 32 guns from France, in which came paſſengers the Chev. de la Luzerne, plenipotentiary form his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the United States, with his ſecretary, &c. alſo John Adams, Eſq; late a commiſſioner from theſe States to the court of France.

On

On the 3d of October paſſed through Morriſtown on his way to Boſton, to imbark for France, M. Gerard, the former French miniſter. He was accompanied by Silas Deane, Eſq;

"*Boſton, Sept.* 19. Laſt Monday arrived ſafe in port, the continental ſhips Dean and Boſton, commanded by Samuel Nicholſon, and Samuel Tucker, Eſqs, from a ſucceſsful cruiſe. They brought in with them and have landed 250 priſoners; amongſt which were Lt-Col. Duncan Macpherſon, of the 73d regiment; Maj. Gardner, of the 16th, his wife, and family; Capt. David Roſs, 73d; Capt. James of the navy; Mr Robertſon, purſer of the Swift; Powel and Aſhley, maſters in the navy; paſſengers on board the Lord Sandwich packet, mounting ſixteen guns, which ſailed from New York the 30th of June 1779, for Falmouth; Capt^{s} Hill and Wardlaw of the navy, with ſeveral warrant and petty officers, who were taken in the Thorn Britiſh ſloop of war, of ſixteen guns, copper bottom, only nine months old, from Portſmouth to New York, with diſpatches, informing of a Spaniſh war; which ſhips they brought into port. They have taken during their cruiſe the ſhip Earl of Glencairn, of twenty guns, with a cargo of dry goods, the invoice of which amounts to 40,000 l. Sterling, beſides 400 barrels of proviſions, and 50 puncheons of rum [ſince retaken and carried into Halifax, by the Romulus man of war]; the brigantine Venture, from Madeira to New York, with 150 pipes of Madeira wine, which is ſafely arrived; and four privateers from New York, which were ordered to Philadelphia.—From the Glencairn was thrown overboard a box containing a complete ſet of types, and three reams of paper, with iſinglaſs and ſilk mixed, for counterfeiting the continental currency, which was afterwards taken up and brought in by Capt. Nicholſon. The printer who was to counterfeit the ſame is likewiſe taken in the above ſhip."

A letter received at the Admiralty, Nov. 28. by the Daphne, Capt. Chinnery, from Vice-Adm. Arbuthnot, commander in chief of the King's ſhips in North America, dated, Sandy-hook, Oct. 28. gives the following account.—"The commander of the Roebuck privateer, which arrived a few days ſince, reports, that, on his way to this port, he fell in with and took a French ſnow, off the Delaware, the maſter of which ſays, that he ſailed with the French fleet under the Count d'Eſtaign from Cape François; that he anchored on the 2d or 3d of September, off St Auguſtine, with twenty-five ſail of the line, fourteen frigates, and eighty or ninety ſail of trading veſſels and tranſports; that a violent gale of wind came on before he could land a man; that they rode it out with each three anchors ahead for ſome hours; but the gale increaſing, they were at length obliged to cut, and run before it. He adds, that twelve or thirteen ſhips of the line were diſmaſted, or otherwiſe crippled."

We go now to the *Weſt Indies*.

A gentleman who was at Grenada when it was taken [556.], writes, "The troops who were in poſſeſſion of the hill that commands the fort, were deceived by the French, who ſent up the Iriſh brigade in their ſervice to make the firſt attack. It was then dark, and the Iriſh ſpeaking the ſame language, were admitted into the intrenchments as friends, and they immediately overpowered our troops by numbers. D'Eſtaign offered to ſave the town from being plundered, upon payment of a large ſum, and twelve hoſtages being delivered for the payment; but Lord Macartney having refuſed theſe terms, the French troops were allowed by D'Eſtaign to plunder George town for two hours; during which they carried off a great deal of property. We loſt only four men at Grenada; the French had about 400 killed and wounded, (chiefly by his Majeſty's ſhip the York, and the merchant-ſhips in the harbour), and about 1300 in the ſea-fight. The French took thirty merchant-ſhips in the harbour of Grenada, partly loaded. There were the greateſt quantities of ſugar and rum at Grenada ever known; and 26,000 hogſheads of ſugar, great part of which was ſhipped, would have come home with the Auguſt fleet, had not the iſland been taken. The value of the ſugar, at 20 l. Sterling per hogſhead, amounts to 520,000 l. beſides large quantities of rum and cotton."

After the loſs of Grenada, there were fears for Jamaica.—The aſſembly of that iſland met at St Jago de la Vega on the 17th of Auguſt.——John Dalling, Eſq; the Governor, in his ſpeech, ſaid,

"On receiving the alarming intelligence which ſhall be laid before you, I called

called a council of war, to consult on the propriety of proclaiming martial law; but intermediate advices of a still more pressing nature, which shall also be communicated to you, induced me to apprehend it would even be too hazardous to wait the period of that meeting. Unwilling, therefore, to lose a moment where the safety of this community was at stake, I ventured to lay on and continue martial law by my own authority, until I and the council so summoned, could determine "on what was necessary and expedient for his Majesty's service and defence of this island," until martial law could, with their advice and consent be proclaimed, as it has been in the usual manner. Though such a measure be not without a respectable precedent in your annals, I mean to ground myself on necessity alone; trusting, that if in your opinion such necessity was manifest, it is within your inclination to approve, and within your power to legalize my conduct.

Defensive operations cannot be successfully conducted without considerable expences: such as are really wanted, and within your ability to supply, will, I doubt not, be chearfully granted.

I have only to rely, as I do most firmly, on that loyalty and patriotism which has hitherto distinguished your proceedings. Your own prudence will suggest to you the necessity, at this crisis, of setting a just value on your time, and that no more of it should be employed in deliberation, than what is requisite for giving efficacy for action."

The assembly, in their address to the Governor, said,

"Animated with the warmest zeal for the public good, we readily attend our duty in a legislative capacity; and, sensible that the preservation of this most valuable island, demands the utmost attention in all departments, it is with satisfaction we see every nerve exerted in a manner hitherto unparallelled in this country.

The times being big with danger, do well warrant every precaution your Excellency can take for the safety of this community: but while we feel with concern the necessity your Excellency was under, of laying on and continuing martial law by your own authority, we must applaud your care of the constitution, in having it again proclaimed, as speedily as could be, in the usual manner: yet the measure, however necessary, being dangerous to the liberties of the people, our perilous situation only could justify it; therefore we hold it incumbent on us, at this critical juncture, to consider the act as for the immediate security of the island, and to legalize it, as far as is in our power.

It is with pleasure we behold all ranks of people eager to stand forth in the public defence, and, by every possible means, supplying the want of that protection we had hoped for. It is from thence we flatter ourselves, that, under the blessing of Almighty God, and led by your Excellency, we shall be successful in the day of trial; and that the strength of this island, considerably beyond our expectation, will not be called forth in vain; but that it will be handed down to posterity, how ready the inhabitants of Jamaica are to defend themselves against an host of foes; and that every assistance may be given at this important crisis, we request that your Excellency will exert your judgement, in calling forth such persons, whether from amongst the regulars or the militia, as you shall deem capable of taking the command of the grand divisions of the militia, and to give them proper commissions, to enable them to take such command during the continuance of the present martial law.

We are convinced that defensive operations cannot be successfully conducted without considerable expences; and we shall grant such supply as is within our ability, confident of your Excellency's prudence and discretion in the disposal of it."

The Governor answered,

"I receive with gratitude an address that is so honourable a testimonial of my conduct; and am happy to find, that the precaution, and consequential steps, taken by me for the safety of this community, have the sanction and credit of your approbation. ——

I have, in some degree, prevented, and shall entirely comply with your wishes, with respect to the granting commissions during martial law. This request I consider as a fresh instance of your attention to the security of this island, and of your reliance on the impartiality of my intentions; and you may confide, that in issuing such commissions, I will regard only the demands of the service, and the merit of the persons on whom they may be conferred."

Letters

Letters and Extracts, the Secretary at War, and Lt-Gen. Burgoyne.

1. *Lord Barrington to Gen. Burgoyne.*

SIR, *War-office, June 5. 1778.*

THE King, judging your preſence material to the troops detained priſoners in New England, under the convention of Saratoga; and finding in a letter of yours to Sir William Howe, dated April 9. 1778, "that you truſt a ſhort time at Bath will enable you to return to America *," his Majeſty is pleaſed to order, that you ſhall repair to Boſton as ſoon as you have tried the Bath waters, in the manner you propoſe.

2. *Gen. Burgoyne to Lord Barrington, June 22. 1778.*

—— The army I commanded, credulous in my favour, and attached to me by the ſeries of conflicts and misfortunes we have in common ſuſtained, would not find material conſolation from my return in diſgrace: and their diſappointment could not but be enhanced by ſuch an indication, that government either thought it inexpedient to ratify the convention of Saratoga, or deſpaired of a ratification effectuating the redemption of that army; for they would not conceive it poſſible, had the return of the troops been in view, that any perſon would have adviſed the King to what then might have appeared ſo harſh an act, as ſending an infirm, calumniated, unheard complainant, acroſs the Atlantic, merely to inſpect their imbarkation.

—— I apply to your Lordſhip's juſtice and generoſity, for pointing out to his Majeſty, other letters, among thoſe tranſmitted to the ſecretary of ſtate, alledging other reaſons, and more prevalent than the attention to health, for my return to England. The ſpecial reaſon upon which I reſt at preſent, is a vindication of my honour.

Until that, by full and proper trial, is cleared to my ſovereign, and to my country, I confeſs I ſhould feel a removal from hence, though enforced by the term "duty," the ſevereſt ſentence of exile ever impoſed; and when the time and circumſtances of ſuch removal are farther conſidered, that Britain is threatened with invaſion, and that after an enemy has ſet my arm at liberty, I am forbid a ſhare in her defence by the council of my own ſovereign; after theſe conſiderations, can I, my Lord, be deemed offenſive, if I venture to declare, that ſo marked a combination of diſpleaſure and hard treatment, would be more than I ſhould be able, or perhaps ought to bear?

3. *Lord Barrington to Gen. Burgoyne.*

SIR, *War-office, June 27. 1778.*

I took the firſt opportunity of laying before the King your letter to me, dated the 22d inſtant. His Majeſty continues to think your preſence with the troops taken at Saratoga, and ſtill detained priſoners in New England, of ſo much importance to them, that he has commanded me to acquaint you, it is his pleaſure, that you return to them as ſoon as you can, without any riſk of material injury to your health.

4. *Mr Ch. Jenkinſon to Gen. Burgoyne.*

SIR, *War-office, Sept. 24. 1779.*

I am commanded by the King to acquaint you, that your not returning to America, and joining the troops priſoners under the convention of Saratoga, is conſidered as a neglect of duty, and diſobedience of orders, tranſmitted to you by the ſecretary at war, in his letter of 5th June 1778.

5. *Gen. Burgoyne to Mr Jenkinſon, Oct. 9. 1779.*

—— The time in which I am charged with neglect of duty, has been employed to vindicate my own honour, the honour of the Britiſh troops, and of thoſe of his Majeſty's allies, under my late command, from the moſt baſe and barbarous aſperſions that ever were forged againſt innocent men, by malignity ſupported by power.

In regard to the ſecond charge, the ſignification of the King's pleaſure contained in the letter of the 27th of June being clearly conditional, and the condition depending upon my own judgement; I am unable to conceive, by what poſſible conſtruction it can be conſidered as diſobedience, that I have not fulfilled an optional condition; and I am ready, and deſirous to meet the judgement of a proper tribunal upon that, as upon every other part of my conduct. ——

* "I need not expatiate upon the ſatisfaction I ſhould feel at being put again in a ſituation to ſerve under you, as ſoon as my health will enable me. — I truſt that a very ſhort time at Bath will effect that purpoſe." *Gen. Burgoyne to Gen. Howe.*

The puniſhment implied in the order referred to, is unuſual as well as cruel. Whether the miniſters of the crown can legally order a Britiſh ſubject into captivity either at home or abroad without trial; or whether they can compel an officer, by virtue of his general military obedience, to deliver himſelf to the priſon of the enemy, without any requiſition on their part, is (to ſay nothing ſtronger of it) matter of ſerious doubt. On pretence of military obedience, I am ordered to the only part of the world in which I can do no military ſervice. An enemy's priſon is not the King's garriſon, nor is any thing to be done or ſuffered there, any part of an officer's duty; ſo far from it that it implies a direct incapacity for any military function. What are the military orders I am to give to men who have no arms to fight, and no liberty to march? Or by what rule is my not being in the hands of rebels, underſtood to be a neglect of duty to my ſovereign? Sir, the thing is too evident; thoſe who calumniate my conduct on this account, are deſirous, not of ſerving the King, but of inſulting me, and of eſtabliſhing new, dangerous, unmilitary, and unconſtitutional powers in themſelves.

While a precedent is eſtabliſhing in my particular caſe, I requeſt it may moreover be remembered, that I am deprived of a court-martial upon my conduct in America, becauſe I am not ſuppoſed to be amenable to the juſtice of the kingdom; and the King is told I have diſobeyed his orders, in the very ſame breath that I am ſtated not to be accountable to him: by this doctrine it ſeems ſuppoſed, that I am not capable of receiving orders for the purpoſes of public juſtice, or public ſervice, but am perfectly ſubject to all ſuch as have a tendency to my own deſtruction.

But it has been ſuggeſted, when no military duty could be deviſed as a ground for this order, that I might be returned to captivity in a ſort of civil capacity; to comfort my fellow-priſoners by a participation of their ſufferings, and to act as a commiſſary to negotiate for them. Could any ſufferings of mine alleviate the ſmalleſt of theirs, I ſhould willingly ſubmit to any thing the malice of the preſent miniſters could inflict upon me; but it is equally injurious to truth, and to their honour and humanity, to ſuppoſe that my perſecution could make any part of their conſolation. What conſolation could they derive from my junction to the common captivity, only to tell them, that not a name among them is to be found in the numerous liſt of late promotions? and that the negotiations to be undertaken in their favour are to be conducted by the man who is notoriouſly proſcribed by the power in the name of which he is to negotiate? who alone of all the officers who have come from America has been denied all acceſs to the King? —

I have received no order: had an order been ſent to me, framed in any manner that I could have acted upon it conſiſtently with the exiſtence of character, I might have made a proteſt againſt the precedent; I might have inquired of you, Sir, by what probable means, in the preſent poſture of affairs, it was to be executed? But in deference to the King's name, as a military ſervant, I mean ſubmiſſion. Your letter, Sir, inſtead of an order for my future conduct, is an unjuſt reproach of my paſt; for which I humbly implore of his Majeſty, and firmly demand of his councils, trial by a court-martial. Should that be refuſed or procraſtinated upon the principle formerly adopted, "That in my preſent ſituation no judicature can have cogniſance of my actions," I can then conſider the purport of your letter, Sir, in no other light, than that of a diſmiſſion, as concluſive as any you could have worded in form, and perhaps more poignant. To eat the bread of the crown, however faithfully earned, under a ſentence, without appeal, in the name of the King, of neglect of duty, and diſobedience of orders, is incompatible with my conception of honour: an interdiction from my country; a baniſhment to the only part of the world in which I am diſabled from ſerving that country at the moment of her fate, and when every other arm, even to the weakeſt, is preſſed to her defence; theſe circumſtances give a critical barbarity to the intentions of the King's adviſers, that an Engliſh ſoldier cannot ſupport. Therefore, Sir, I find myſelf compelled, if not allowed an early trial, or by the King's grace, upon this repreſentation, reſtored to a capacity of ſervice, through your official channel, to requeſt his Majeſty to accept of my reſignation of my appointment upon the American ſtaff, of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, and

and of the government of Fort-William; humbly desiring only to reserve my rank as Lieutenant-General in the army, to render me the more clearly amenable to a court-martial hereafter, and to enable me to fulfil my personal faith, should I be required by the enemy so to do.

6. Mr Jenkinson to Gen. Burgoyne.

SIR, *War-office, Oct. 15. 1779.*

I have received your letter of the 9th inst.; wherein, after stating your reasons for objecting to the several steps that have been taken with relation to the orders given for your return to North America, you add, that "if you are not allowed an early trial, or if, by his Majesty's grace, upon the representations contained in the said letter, you are not restored to a capacity of service, it is your request to his Majesty, that he will be pleased to accept your resignation of your appointment on the American staff, of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, and of the government of Fort-William; humbly desiring to reserve your rank of Lieutenant-General in the army, to render you more clearly amenable to courts-martial hereafter, and to enable you to fulfil your personal faith, should you be required by the enemy so to do."

Having laid your letter before the King, I am commanded to acquaint you, that, for the reasons submitted to his Majesty by the board of General Officers, in their report, dated 23d May 1778, (which reasons subsist in the same force now as they did at that time), his Majesty does not think proper that any part of your conduct should be brought before a military tribunal, so long as you shall continue engaged to redeliver yourself into the power of Congress upon their demand, and due notice being given by them. Nor does his Majesty think proper, in consequence of the representations contained in your said letter, to restore you, circumstanced as you are, to a capacity of service. Neither of these requests can therefore be granted.

I have it farther in command from the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty considers your letter to me as a proof of your determination to persevere in not obeying his orders, signified to you in the secretary at war's letter of the 5th of June 1778: and, for this reason, his Majesty is pleased to accept your resignation of the command of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, of the government of Fort-William, and of your appointment on the American staff; allowing you only to reserve the rank of Lieutenant-General in the army, for the purposes you have stated.

Lord Barrington's letter of the 27th of June is considered as explanatory of the orders given in his letter of the 5th of that month.

7. Gen. Burgoyne to Mr Jenkinson.

SIR, *Hertford-street, Oct. 17. 1779.*

I received your letter of the 15th instant, informing me, that his Majesty had been pleased to accept my resignation of my military employments; and that I am refused a court-martial upon that disobedience; for my perseverance in which, you tell me my resignation is accepted.

I must persist in denying, that I have received any other order, than an order subject to my own discretion.

I must persist in my claim to a court-martial.

I apprehend, that if I am not subject to a trial for breach of orders, it implies that I am not subject to the orders themselves.

I do not admit, that I cannot legally have a court martial, circumstanced as I am: but those who advise his Majesty assert it; and they are answerable for this contradiction between their reasoning and their conduct.

The report of the General Officers, I humbly conceive, is erroneous. And the subsequent appointment of other gentlemen, exactly in my circumstances, (with great merit on their part to intitle them to any distinction), to military employments, subject to orders, and accountable for the breach of them, is one of the reasons for my conceiving, that the King's advisers do not differ from me in opinion, that the General Officers were mistaken.

Thinking it probable, Sir, that this letter may close the correspondence between us, I conclude with the sentiments I have never deviated from in any part of it; and I request you to assure his Majesty, with all humility on my part, that though I have reason to complain heavily of his Majesty's ministers, my mind is deeply impressed, as it ever has been, with a sense of duty, respect, and affection, to his Royal person.

8. *Mr Jenkinſon to Gen. Burgoyne.*

SIR, *War-office Oct.* 22. 1779.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 17th inſtant; and to acquaint you, that I took the firſt opportunity of laying it before the King.

Extracts from Gen. Burgoyne's letter to his conſtituents upon his late reſignation, dated, London, Oct. 23. 1779.

—— I was called to the American ſervice in the year 1775. It is known to thoſe who employed me, and I have often declared it in public, that I was involuntarily called to it. I was not without profeſſional reaſons for wiſhing to decline it. But being aſſured, in terms very honourable for me, that his Majeſty was determined in the choice of generals, I immediately declared my readineſs to obey.

Thus engaged, I reſolved to dedicate myſelf to my new ſituation. I ſaw the national objects to which it opened. I had uniformly ſupported the principle then held out by the miniſters, the ſupremacy of the King and Parliament.—

Late in the winter 1775 I returned to England. The King's miniſters ſaw, and acknowledged, that in the reaſons for that return, my zeal for the public ſervice kept pace with the anxieties of my private ſituation [38. 340.]. It entirely prevailed over them, when very early in the ſpring I was called upon for ſervice in Canada.——

My endeavours in the campaign under Sir Guy Carleton, in 1776, were alſo thought worthy commendation; and before my return I was pitched upon for the command of the troops deſtined to make a junction with Sir William Howe from Canada.——

I had expreſſed, in my private letter from Albany to the ſecretary of ſtate, my "confidence in the juſtice of the King and his councils to ſupport the General they had thought proper to appoint to ſo arduous an undertaking, and under as poſitive a direction, as a cabinet ever framed." I had in the ſame letter given an opinion of the enemy's troops, upon near inſpection of their numbers, appointment, and diſcipline.——

—— The ſecretary of ſtate had notice of my arrival at Portſmouth in the evening, and my viſit to him in Pall-Mall was before noon the next day.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that the ſtate in which I ſtood was the firſt ſubject of converſation: on the contrary, I was received with much apparent kindneſs; explanations paſſed, but they were friendly; I was heard attentively, through a report of all the tranſactions ſubſequent to the convention of Saratoga; and I was led by degrees, and without ſuſpicion of inſidiouſneſs, to the moſt confidential communication, on my part, of facts, obſervations, and opinions, reſpecting very important objects.

If the meaſure of denying me acceſs to the King had been undecided before, this converſation was of a nature to produce a deciſion; for it opened truths reſpecting the diſpoſitions of the people of America, and the ſtate of things there, very different from the ideas which (it is now known, from the line taken by the ſecretary of ſtate in the late inquiry) were prevalent in the governing councils of this kingdom. ——

In the courſe of the [laſt] ſummer, the apprehenſions before entertained of an invaſion, by the declaration of government, became a certainty. Hardly a Britiſh ſubject could be found ſo low, ſo feeble, or even ſo profligate, as to be exempted from ſervice; while uncommon premiums were raiſed by begging, and diſtributed to volunteers, the gaols, and even the feet of the gallows, were reſorted to for other recruits.

In this declared dilemma, I know government were not ſtrangers to my intention of fighting my own regiment as colonel; or, ſhould its deſtination not admit the honour of meeting the enemy in that capacity, of offering myſelf as a volunteer in the ranks of any corps that might be more fortunately ſituated.

Theſe ſeveral feelings, and many others incident to an oppreſſed man, were doubtleſs duly conſidered: for at the criſis when they could operate moſt forcibly, it was thought proper moſt to inſult me; at the criſis when the King's ſervants openly announced, that not a ſhip or a ſoldier could be ſpared from our internal defence, a ſentence of baniſhment was ſent me; and even that not in an order, but a reprimand: a ſubmiſſion to ignominy was required of me; for to put me wholly out of a capacity to draw my ſword at ſuch a moment, was virtually, in point of diſgrace, to break it over my head. ——

I am ready to confeſs, that I have been a determined oppoſer of the King's miniſters;

miniſters; but my oppoſition has been the cauſe, and not the conſequence, of my ill treatment. ——

Gentlemen, I will take the matter ſhort. If the ſtate of the nation, in its wars, in its negotiations, in its concerns with its remaining colonies, or in the internal policy and government of theſe kingdoms, can afford the ſmalleſt countenance to an opinion of integrity and capacity in adminiſtration, I am ready to abide every cenſure for being, what I am, a determined enemy to it. I have been in a ſituation to ſee, that in a complicated and alarming war, when unſupported by any alliances, the kingdom was left ſolely to its own native military force, that ſole reliance was diſcouraged and depretiated. I ſaw a ſyſtematical deſign of vilifying and diſgracing every officer whom theſe miniſters had ever employed by ſea or land; and thoſe moſt who ſtood higheſt in the opinion of their ſeveral profeſſions. The ruin of officers forms almoſt the whole of their military ſyſtem; and if I have experienced my full meaſure of their hoſtility, it only ſhews the extent of their plan; having furniſhed little elſe than my zeal and induſtry as a title to their malevolence.

As to their political plan, its object is to impoſe upon the nation from ſeſſion to ſeſſion. Far from profiting themſelves, or ſuffering others to profit by bitter experience, they exiſt by bringing forth a ſucceſſion of deceits. ——

The truſt of my country in parliament is too ſacred in my ſenſe to be renounced, while I am thought worthy to be continued in it. As for the other objects which moſt intereſt the multitude, and once intereſted me, my temper, or my misfortunes, have made them matters of perfect indifference. My ambition is dead; my occupation is gone; the humble arrangements of my new ſtate are made; and my whole proſpects or hopes on this ſide the grave, concenter in the preſervation of my friendſhips, and the tranquillity of my conſcience.

Extracts from a Reply to Gen. Burgoyne's Letter to his conſtituents.

The author of this Reply, after an introduction intermixed with general obſervations and liberal compliment, proceeds to the conſideration of the moſt remarkable paſſages in the General's Letter.

Gen. Burgoyne having complained much of the court-etiquette, which he alledges was invented upon this occaſion, to exclude him from the Royal preſence, the author of the Reply makes the ſubſequent remarks on this ſubject.

"The foundation of it in precedent," I confeſs with you I am unacquainted with; but the foundation of it "in reaſon" I perceive clearly. Where an officer labours under a ſuſpicion of miſconduct, and it is thought neceſſary he ſhall be tried by a court-martial, it is fit that that officer ſhould be excluded from the only place where he can defeat the courſe of juſtice, by intereſting humanity and compaſſion in his behalf; where, by an addreſs to the paſſions of his ſovereign, he may elude the purſuit of his country, and arm that prerogative in his favour, which, when properly exerciſed, becomes the moſt amiable interpoſition of the crown. On the other hand, no bad conſequences can happen to him from a temporary excluſion from the Royal preſence. The ſentence of a court-martial will determine faithfully upon his merits, and reſtore him to honour, or doom him to diſgrace. The voice of his profeſſion, if heard in his favour, will call him to the poſſeſſion of every ſuſpended privilege; and, with ſuch a deciſion upon his ſide, he cannot be diſhonoured by the Royal frowns; and if admitted to the Royal favour, even in the preſence of ſovereignty he may feel himſelf ennobled.

But we are given to underſtand, that the true reaſon of the order you received not to appear at court, was "an apprehenſion upon the part of the American ſecretary, that you might lay before your ſovereign what information you was poſſeſſed of, and which would have proved very different from the ideas which it is now known were at that time prevalent in the governing councils of this kingdom." By this mode of accounting for it, you bring a charge againſt the American ſecretary, of endeavouring to with-hold from his ſovereign uſeful and neceſſary information. This charge, it muſt be obſerved, reſts merely upon your own authority; and when we conſider, that you are a party concerned, that your feelings appear to be unuſually irritated, and your reſentment warm, your authority cannot have that weight upon the preſent occaſion which upon all other occaſions it is juſtly intitled to.

But the candid and the ſenſible will examine this charge as if brought by an indifferent

indifferent perſon, and aſcertain how far it could be the intereſt of the American ſecretary to obſerve ſuch a conduct; and if he wiſhed to ſuppreſs your information, whether he took the means moſt probable to attain that end. By admitting you to the Royal preſence, your information, it is true, would be immediately told in the Royal ear; and however unfavourable to the prevailing ſyſtem, few are ſo ignorant of the arts of a court, and the perſuaſive eloquence of a miniſter, as not to know, that it was eaſy to have confined your information to that place, and to have ſuppreſſed it with regard to the public at large. On the contrary, by adopting a meaſure which he knew would prove an offenſive one to you, he drove you into the arms of a powerful and adverſe party; he provoked you to publiſh your information in your place in parliament; and he could not imagine, that your facts would be weakened, or your manner of expreſſing them ſoftened, by the treatment you had received. The only chance of ſuppreſſing your information, or of counteracting the effect which you ſuppoſe it would have had, an interference with the prevailing ſyſtem, was by uſhering you into the Royal preſence; the ſure method of publiſhing it to the nation, was by ſhutting againſt you the door of admiſſion. This charge does not therefore appear to have any foundation in truth; and, certainly, it has none in reaſon."

To the two paragraphs of the above letter, the laſt inſerted but one, beginning "Gentlemen," our author replies,

"Pardon me, Sir, when I aſſure you, that ſuch a language from a man in your ſituation is improper and indecent. Whatever may have been the conduct of miniſters, you ſtand alike with them before the tribunal of the public; and it is not by an accuſation of others that you will be permitted to juſtify yourſelf. If you tell us, that it is the privilege of anger to rail, we will agree with you, that it is a privilege which anger too frequently aſſumes; but if you mean ſeriouſly to bring forward theſe charges, you muſt ſupport them with other evidence than your own.

Whether it be true, as you aſſert, that the ruin of officers forms the whole of the military ſyſtem of the preſent miniſters, I will not at preſent inquire. If ſuch be really their views, we have to regret, that the conduct of the officers whom they have employed has been ſo favourable to their plan; and in this inſtance at leaſt you will not charge them with "incapacity," where they have ſhewn ſo great a knowledge of character, and have ſo judiciouſly ſelected fit inſtruments for their plot. While we feel for theſe injured officers, we alſo lament the change which time has brought about. This country has ſeen commanders whom miniſters in vain would have laboured to diſgrace; whom it was not in the power of calumny to defame; whom it was not within the reach of malice to hurt. When their enemies attempted to revile them, the ſolemn exhibition of their ſpoils gave ſhame to the lie; and the proudeſt veſſels of France riding in every port of the kingdom, were the vouchers to which they referred us, and the teſtimony they produced. Inſtead of depending for their luſtre upon miniſters, they reflected glory upon adminiſtration. It is only the negligent, inactive, unenterpriſing commander, whoſe reputation is in the power of the miniſter,—the man whoſe progreſs is impeded by every trifling obſtacle,—whoſe ardour is repreſſed by the appearance of oppoſition,—who, after a weak, languid, indeciſive engagement, toils through a dull Gazette to eſtabliſh dubious advantage, and equivocal ſucceſs. The truly great commander reſts not upon ſuch uncertain grounds. He lays in a ſtock of reputation which a legion of pilferers may labour in vain to diminiſh; and, ſecure in the opinion of his country, he ſets at defiance both the inſidious whiſper, and the profeſſed attack.

As far, however, as it is poſſible for you to produce any good effect, by bringing ſuch a charge againſt miniſters, I ſincerely wiſh that effect may be produced. Inſtead of weakening the public confidence in the miniſters who have the direction of public affairs, and to whom confidence is moſt eſſentially neceſſary, may it ſtimulate the officers whom they employ to efforts worthy of themſelves! Let them proceed under the jealouſy, that it may be the intereſt of the miniſter to calumniate them; let them be convinced, that the favour of the nation can alone ſecure them againſt the intrigues of the court; and let them act under the conviction, that the ſureſt method to conquer their enemies in the cabinet, is to conquer their enemies in the field."

The

The QUACK. A tale.

NOT long ſince, in a market-town,
A Quack acquired vaſt renown,
He talk'd ſo loud, and talk'd ſo long,
He half-bewitch'd the rural throng.
In rich embroidery attir'd,
His ſenſe and dreſs the mob admir'd;
From ſtage aloft, as from a roſtrum,
He puff'd his wonder-working noſtrum;
'Gainſt brother-adepts a great railer,
His own trump ſounding like Chev. Taylor.
He bled, drew teeth, nor fail'd his potions,
All-powerful, to give ſtore of motions.
With jalap, rotten-poſt, and pills
Of *Græcum alb.* he cur'd all ills.
Profit he ſcorn'd, and was content
With poor two thouſand pounds per cent.
Whereas all others of the trade
Get thrice as much, or more 'tis ſaid.
In ſhort, the rurals all around
Sir Galen's wond'rous praiſe reſound.
Baſking in Fortune's ſunny ſmiles,
He ſnugly thus the *Flats* beguiles:
When (dire misfortune!) Goſſip Fame,
That miſchievous tea-drinking dame,
Who ſeldom minds what's done at home,
But fraught with news delights to roam,
And whoſe chief pleaſure ſtill appears
In ſetting neighbours by the ears,
A ſecret broach'd, till then unknown,
Which quite demoliſh'd Quack's renown.
She ſaid, (" tho' from her ſoul ſhe vow'd
She wiſh'd the Doctor nought but good),
That ſome years ſince, by ſtrange tranſition,
This wonder-working great Phyſician
The Farrier's petty trade had quit,
(A walk too humble for his wit),
And, without licence or diplome,
Determin'd through the land to roam
Sir Doctor;—talk'd at large, look'd big,
In broider'd coat and pompous wig;
Nor was his boaſted phyſic more
Than what had horſes drench'd before.
Further, to prove herſelf no liar,
She voucher brought, a neighb'ring ſquire,
Whoſe horſes he had often bled,
Shod, rowel'd, phyſic'd, rubb'd, and fed."
This Madam Fame, in friendly tattle,
Told to Apothecary Prattle,
A ſecret, which he vow'd his tongue
Should ne'er diſcloſe to old or young;
Nor did,—but to thoſe fav'rite few
That Prattle met, and Prattle knew.
The ſecret blazon'd forth; 'twas ſtrange,
How quick, how violent the change!
His murders then came out by dozens,
How he had poiſon'd country-couſins,—
" A vile impoſtor, and what worſe is,
To phyſic them as he would horſes;"
(Though ſmall the difference in the natures
Of two and four legg'd village-creatures);
And the next market-day, in rage
They drove Sir Galen off the ſtage;
" Farrier and Cheat," was all the cry,
While clods unfriendly round him fly. —
At length like Contades ſoundly beat,
He made a dangerous retreat;
And when night came, to ſave his bacon,
A French adieu was wiſely taken
Had Fame now kindly ta'en her leave,
Such trifles Bronze might ſoon retrieve;
But all around the chattering Dame
Kept blaſting poor Sir Galen's name.
No more the rurals throng, to ſwill
His copious drench, or take the pill.
His packets in portmanteau rot,
Diſdain and ſneers his only lot;
Too lazy and too proud to toil,
And at his quondam anvil broil,
He felt of indigence the curſe,
He took the road, he took a purſe;
Was took himſelf, impriſon'd, try'd,
Took hemp, *ſecundum art.* apply'd,
Kept up the gentleman — and dy'd.
Ye Quacks of each degree and ſtation,
Who ſwarm like locuſts thro' the nation,
Soul-Quacks or Body-Quacks,—in ſhort,
Quacks all, from dunghill up to court,
Learn from Sir Galen's hapleſs doom,
Not to diſguiſe in borrow'd plume;
Once known, be ſure the critic mob
Will pelt you as Old Nick did Job;
And ſhould ye then Job's patience lack,
The Lord have mercy on each Quack.
Poor Galen for a purſe or two
(Tho' want impell'd) receiv'd his due;
While ſome of a ſuperior ſtation,
(Not thoſe, we truſt, who guide the nation),
Without remorſe, rob, cheat, and plunder,
Rewarded for each theft or blunder.

On the late Ducheſs of RUTLAND.

By the late Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

WHat do ſcholars, and bards, and aſtronomers wiſe,
Mean, by ſtuffing our heads with nonſenſe and lies,
By telling us Venus muſt always appear
In a car, or a ſhell, or a twinkling ſtar,
Drawn by ſparrows, or ſwans, or dolphins, or doves,
Attended in form by the Graces and Loves;
That Ambroſia and Nectar is all ſhe will taſte,
And her paſſport to hearts on a belt round her waiſt?
Without all this buſtle I ſaw the bright dame,
To ſupper laſt night to P———y's ſhe came,
In a good warm ſedan, no fine open car,
Two chairmen her doves, and a flambeau her ſtar;
No Nectar ſhe drank, no Ambroſia ſhe eat,
Her cup was plain claret, a chicken her meat;
Nor wanted a Ceſtus her boſom to grace,
For RUTLAND that night had lent her her face.

On

On the death of a much-loved WIFE.

NAture ſubmits—no more ſhe needs
Our friendly aid—the conflict's o'er;
A tranſient calm the ſtorm ſucceeds,
And now, alas! ſhe breathes no more.

Yet ſmiles atteſt a ſoul ſerene;
Her mortal frailties are forgiven;
Let Hope illume the tragic ſcene;
My Lucia's pardon's ſeal'd in heaven.

But, ah! to what far diſtant coaſt
Is flown the ſpirit of my dear?
In what wild region art thou loſt?
Oh! gentle ſpirit, tell me where.

Whether beyond the radiant pole,
Unnumber'd leagues on wings convey'd,
(Where comets blaze, or planets roll),
In azure depths of ſpace thou'rt ſtray'd.

No, rather 'midſt th' angelic throngs
To thy bleſt ſoul a place is given,
Where cherubs chant immortal ſongs,
With ſeraphs round the throne of heaven.

Perhaps with ſympathetic care,
Inviſible to mortal eyes,
Thou hover'ſt in the fields of air,
A witneſs to our tears and ſighs.

There, pleas'd, thy ſweet maternal love
Our youthful offſpring ſtill ſurveys,
Sent by th' indulgent pow'rs above,
The guardian of their thoughtleſs days.

Oh! let me burſt this clay-built ſhrine
That veils my Lucia from my ſight,
Unite my raptur'd ſoul to thine,
And ſeek th' empyreal realms of light!

There, undiſturb'd by grief or pain,
Let hymns of praiſe our hearts employ;
Till each lov'd friend we meet again,
And endleſs bliſs in heav'n enjoy.

Written in a Young Lady's Almanack.

THink, bright Florella, when you ſee
The conſtant changes of the year,
That nothing is from ruin free,
And gayeſt things muſt diſappear.

Think of your glories in their bloom,
The ſpring of ſprightly youth improve,
For cruel age, alas! will come,
And then 'twill be too late to love.

EPIGRAM.

AS Jack and Bob together ſat
One night, indulging ſober chat,
"The world," cries Jack, "is grown ſo bad,
It makes a thinking perſon ſad.
There's not upon this earthly ſphere
One lover true, or friend ſincere.
All, all from virtue's maxims ſtray,
And vice bears univerſal ſway."
"Hold! hold!" ſays Bob, "you run too faſt,
Some few you muſt except at leaſt;
Or (granting what you ſay be true)
Virtue a ſtranger is to you."

Preſs-warrants and Letters de cachet: A compariſon; or, What's the difference.

AS Tom Bowline was prowling the ſtreets with his gang,
Such fellows to preſs as would otherwiſe hang,
He ſpy'd one, he thought, who would anſwer his end,
And, ſlapping his ſhoulder, cry'd, "What ſhip, my friend?"
"You miſtake," ſaid the man, "Sir, you cannot take me:
I can prove how I live; ſo by law I am free."—
"Your law," ſaid rough Tom, "I am not very apt in;
That's a thing which we leave to the reg'lating captain:
But this I know well, that, whate'er you can ſay,
I've a warrant to preſs, and ſo you muſt away."
Then ſtraight, with their prey, they ſet off to the boat,
And his children and wife left to ſink or to float.
A Frenchman, attentive, obſerv'd all that paſt,
And thus to a friend he broke ſilence at laſt:
"Now, Sir, pray you tell-a-me, en verité,
Vat vas you tink now of your grand liberty?
You make de great joke of de letter de cachet;
Ma foi, de preſs-varrant vas very vell match it."

The Summit of Human Felicity.

NEar Richmond's bright vales, in a charming retreat,
A manſion engagingly ſtands;
Not expenſively rais'd, but commodiouſly neat,
And poſſeſſes ſome neighbouring lands.

There BELMOUR, with matchleſs CLARINDA retir'd,
From life's noiſy glare has remov'd;
By the villas around both eſteem'd and admir'd,
And at home both reſpected and lov'd.

With his ſoul's deareſt pattern the morn doth he paſs
In the ſweeteſt enjoyment and eaſe;
And at dinner ſome well-choſen friends o'er a glaſs
Are allow'd to do juſt what they pleaſe.

His cellars, with true hoſpitality ſtor'd,
Give a welcome moſt cordially warm;
For plenty and freedom preſide at his board,
And contentment takes care of the farm.

The poor at his preſence throw wretchedneſs by,
Their bleſſings alone to employ;
The heart of the fatherleſs ceaſes to ſigh,
And the widow's is leaping for joy.

Thus reaching the ſummit of all human bliſs,
With no care is he ever perplex'd;
But happily glides thro' a life ſuch as this,
To meet endleſs delight in the next.

H.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

UNITED PROVINCES. [564.]

"*Hague, Nov.* 10. On the 25th of laſt month, their High Mightineſſes came to the following reſolution relative to Paul Jones's ſquadron and prizes, and delivered the ſame to the Britiſh ambaſſador.

"THAT their High Mightineſſes were informed, that three frigates had lately arrived in the Texel, namely, two French, and one called an American, commanded by Paul Jones, bringing with them two prizes taken by them in the open ſea, and called *the Serapis* and *the Counteſs of Scarborough*, deſcribed in the ambaſſador's memorial [563.]: That their High Mightineſſes have for a century paſt ſtrictly obſerved the following maxim, and notified the ſame by placards, viz. That they will, in no reſpect whatever, pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of thoſe who have, on the open ſea, taken any veſſels which do not belong to this country, and bring them in to any of the ports of this republic: That they only open their ports to them to give them ſhelter from ſtorms or other diſaſters, and that they oblige them to put to ſea again, with their prizes, without unloading, or diſpoſing of their cargoes, but letting them remain exactly as when they arrived: That their High Mightineſſes will not examine, whether the prizes taken by the three frigates in queſtion belong to the French or the Americans, or whether they are legal or illegal prizes, but leave all that to be determined by the proper judges; and will oblige them to put to ſea, that they may be liable to be retaken, and by that means brought before the proper judge: Particularly, as his Excellency the Ambaſſador muſt own, he would have no leſs a right to reclaim the above-mentioned ſhips, if they had been private property, than as they have been King's ſhips; therefore their High Mightineſſes are not authoriſed to paſs judgement, either upon theſe prizes, or the perſon of Paul Jones: That as to what regards acts of humanity, their High Mightineſſes have already made appear how ready they are to ſhow them towards the wounded on board thoſe veſſels; and that they have given orders accordingly: That an extract of the preſent reſolution ſhall be given to Sir Joſeph Yorke by the agent Vander Burch de Spivinxhook."

At the ſame time it was reſolved, that word ſhould be ſent to the Admiralty of Amſterdam, that their High Mightineſſes approve their proceedings, and adhering to their placard of the 3d of November 1756, by which it is forbid to meddle with any prizes, or to open their cargoes, ſo as by that means to free them from being retaken, &c. Their High Mightineſſes authoriſe the ſaid Admiralty to orders matters ſo that theſe five ſhips do put to ſea as ſoon as poſſible; and that they take care they are not furniſhed with any warlike or naval ſtores, but what are abſolutely neceſſary to carry them ſafe to the firſt foreign port they can come at, in order that all ſuſpicion of their being fitted out here may drop."

In a few days the Britiſh ambaſſador preſented a new memorial, in reply to the above, viz.

"High and Mighty Lords,

IN thanking your High Mightineſſes for the orders which your humanity dictated relative to the wounded men on board the two King's ſhips, the Serapis and the Counteſs of Scarborough, I cannot but comply with the ſtrict orders of his Majeſty, by renewing, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner, his requeſt, that thoſe ſhips and their crews may be ſtopped, and delivered up, which the pirate Paul Jones, of Scotland, who is a rebel-ſubject, and a criminal of the ſtate, has taken.

The ſentiments of equity and juſtice which your High Mightineſſes poſſeſs, leave me no room to doubt, but that, upon mature deliberation upon all the circumſtances of this affair, you will acknowledge the reaſonableneſs of this requeſt, founded both on the moſt ſolemn treaties now ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the right and cuſtoms of nations in friendſhip and alliance.

The ſtipulations of the treaty of Breda of the 20th of July 1667 O. S. confirmed particularly in that of 1716, and all the later ones, are too clear and inconteſtable in that reſpect for the full force of them not to be felt.

The King would think he derogated from his own dignity, as well as that of your High Mightineſſes, was he to enter into the particulars of a caſe ſo notorious as that in queſtion, or to ſet before the

eyes of the ancient friends and allies of his crown analagous examples of other princes and ſtates. It will be ſufficient to remark, that all the placards even of your High Mightineſſes require, that all the captains of foreign armed veſſels ſhall, upon their arrival, preſent their letters of marque or commiſſion; and authoriſe, according to the cuſtom of the admiralties, to treat all thoſe as pirates whoſe letters are found to be illegal for want of being granted by a ſovereign power.

The quality of Paul Jones, and all the circumſtances of the affair, are too notorious for your High Mightineſſes to be ignorant of them. The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon your reſolution: your High Mightineſſes know too well the value of good faith not to give an example of it in this eſſential adventure. The ſmalleſt deviation from ſo ſacred a rule, by weakening the friendſhip of neighbours, may produce ſerious conſequences.

The King has always gloried in cultivating the friendſhip of your High Mightineſſes; his Majeſty conſtantly perſiſts in the ſame ſentiments; but the Engliſh nation does not think that it anywiſe has deſerved that its fellow-citizens ſhould be impriſoned in the ports of the republic by a man of no character, a ſubject of the ſame country, and who enjoys that liberty which they are deprived of.

It is for theſe, and many other ſtrong reaſons, which cannot eſcape the wiſdom and penetration of your High Mightineſſes, that the underwritten hopes to receive a ſpeedy and favourable anſwer, conformable to the juſt expectations of the King his maſter, and the Britiſh nation.

Done at the Hague, Oct. 29. 1779.

JOSEPH YORKE."

To this the following anſwer was returned.

"*Wedneſday, Nov.* 19. 1779. On reſuming the deliberations reſpecting the memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, the ambaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain to their High Mightineſſes, on the 29th of laſt month, renewing, in conſequence of particular order from his ſaid Majeſty, the moſt preſſing ſolicitations for the reſtitution of the two veſſels of war the Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough, and alſo for the releaſe of their reſpective crews; which one named Paul Jones had captured, it has been reſolved to return the following anſwer to the laſt memorial of the above-mentioned ambaſſador:

"THAT, upon the repeated inſtances made by the ambaſſador, by order of his court, for the reſtitution of theſe veſſels of war the Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough, and alſo for the releaſing of their reſpective crews, which one named Paul Jones had captured, and with which he had entered the Texel, their High Mightineſſes have repeatedly taken into their moſt ſerious conſideration all the circumſtances of the affair: — That they find themſelves under the neceſſity of beſeeching his Majeſty to believe, that their High Mightineſſes ſtill continue in their old maxim of rigid neutrality; and that, without concerning themſelves with any deciſion reſpecting the legality or illegality of the capture of thoſe prizes brought into their ports, they will compel them to put to ſea. Their High Mightineſſes are of opinion, that this which they allude to is entirely conſiſtent with all their treaties: but to ſhew, that it was no intention or inclination of theirs that any ſuccours ſhould be procured in their territories for the aid of his Majeſty's colonies in America, they iſſued immediately, on the entry of Paul Jones into their harbour, a ſtrict order, that he ſhould not be ſupplied with any ſpecies of military ammunition, nor any other article of any kind, excepting only ſuch as were neceſſary for him in going to ſea again, and for his reaching the firſt port where he could be received.

That their High Mightineſſes will likewiſe give orders for him to depart as ſoon as his veſſels are in a condition to put to ſea, and there is a favourable wind; and will even force him to obey this injunction in caſe there ſhould be any occaſion: That their High Mightineſſes aſſure him, that he may depend on it, that they ſhall invariably perſiſt in the declaration which they made to his Majeſty, "That they did not wiſh to do any thing from which it might be inferred that they acknowledged the independence of his Majeſty's American colonies;" and that they will not afford either ſuccour or aſylum to Paul Jones, but will uniformly purſue the conduct they have at all times maintained towards thoſe who have put into their ports for ſhelter in any diſaſters which have befallen them at ſea: they do not concern themſelves on the ſub-

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ject; they leave every thing in the ſame ſtate in which it was a little before the veſſels entered their country. That their High Mightineſſes flatter themſelves that his Majeſty, and the Engliſh nation, for whom their High Mightineſſes have the utmoſt eſteem, will be contented with theſe diſpoſitions, without inſiſting farther upon the reclamation made. That an extract of the reſolution of their High Mightineſſes be delivered to Sir Joſeph Yorke by the agent Vander Burk de Spivinxhook. That, further, the admiralty-college at Amſterdam ſhall be written to, to ſignify to Paul Jones, That their High Mightineſſes aſſure him, that having only put in there for the purpoſe of ſheltering his diſabled veſſels from the dangers of the ſea, he has had time ſufficient to refit them, and in conſequence of that, they deſire he will ſet ſail as ſoon as the wind and weather render it poſſible; and that he will quit their country, as their High Mightineſſes cannot permit his longer ſtay; and as the approach of winter may reduce him to many inconveniencies, it will be neceſſary for him not to let any favourable opportunity for putting to ſea to eſcape him. That this is the ſerious intention of their High Mightineſſes; and that they do not imagine he will, by oppoſing them, oblige them to purſue meaſures that will not be agreeable to him. That nevertheleſs, for the greater ſecurity, and to prevent delays, his Serene Highneſs the Prince Stadtholder, as High Admiral, is hereby requeſted to give orders to Vice-Adm. Teeynſt, or to the officer who commands in the Texel, to obſerve with the utmoſt care, that the ſaid Paul Jones go out with his prizes as ſoon as the weather and wind permit; and not to admit of any delay but what ſhall be found abſolutely neceſſary; and to aid, by any poſſible means, not even excepting force, the execution of their High Mightineſſes orders."

"*Leyden, Nov.* 25. The above reſolution is drawn up with great ſkill, as it agrees ſcrupulouſly with the principles of neutrality, which the States-General profeſs, without any violation of the amity ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the republic."

"*Hague, Nov.* 25. We are informed, that the cities of Dordtrecht, Haerlem, Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Schiedam, and the Brille, particularly the third, have proteſted highly againſt the contents of the [above] anſwer, and have even had their proteſtations regiſtered; in which they required, that the expreſſion, "to oblige Paul Jones by force to ſail, if he would not do it by fair means," ſhould be erafed from the ſaid anſwer, as being incompatible with the dignity of the republic, and may in future be prejudicial to it. But the corps of Nobles and the other towns reported, that it was not time now to be taken up with ſuch *minutiæ*; and perſiſted that the anſwer ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh ambaſſador as it was; for which there was alſo a majority of voices in the aſſembly."

We are favoured with the following copy (ſpelled exactly as in the original) of a ranſom certificate or paſſport by Paul Jones, to Andrew Robertſon, maſter of the ſhip Friendſhip of Kirkaldy, which was taken the 14th of September going out of the frith with a cargo of coals, and the maſter and crew kept priſoners by Jones till late at night of the 17th, being the day on which he came near to Inchkeith, and was driven back by a violent ſouth-weſt wind [509.], when he thought proper to ranſom the ſhip. The paſſport is of the hand-writing of a marine-officer, and ſubſcribed by Jones. It is obſervable, that Jones calls his ſquadron American, without the leaſt mention that any of his ſhips belonged to France.

"L'Honorable Capitaine John Paul Jones, Ecuyer, commandant en chef l'eſcadre Americaine actuellement en Europe,

A tous ceux qui ces preſentes verront, ſpecialement les ſujets de la France.

Je certifie par le preſent paſſeport, que le vaiſſeau Friendſhip, commandé par André Robertſon, du port de Kirkaldy; et venant du dit lieu pour aller a Riga, a eté pris par l'eſcadre Americaine que je commande; et qu'il eſt ranſonné: C'eſt pourquoi je prie et requerre tous les ſujets de la France et de l'Amerique, de laiſſer librement paſſer le dit vaiſſeau Friendſhip, et continuer ſon voyage, ſans le troubler en façon quelconque.

Donné a la mer, a bord du Bon Homme Richard, le dix ſept Septembre Mil ſept cent ſoixante dix neuf.

J. PAUL JONES."

FRANCE. [503.]

A letter from Bruſſels, dated Oct. 20,

mentions, that 12,000 ſeamen were now lying ſick at Breſt, many of them confined to their hammocks; and alſo that a dreadful malady was beginning to reign amongſt the French forces on the coaſt, of ſo contagious a nature, that numbers were infected, and generally died in twenty-four hours after."

"*London, Oct.* 29. The epidemic diſorder in the French camp is a flux, which in twelve hours makes the patient delirious; after which his body is covered with purple and red ſpots, and before twenty-four hours illneſs he expires in great agonies. Not one who was infected has recovered."

"*London, Nov.* 4. The peſtilential diſorder has increaſed to ſuch a degree in Brittany, as well as in the villages in Lower Normandy, that from fifteen to twenty perſons are buried in a day."

Extract of a letter from Verſailles, Aug. 25.

I have had occaſion to mention to you, that Congreſs had ordered their ambaſſador here to preſent the Marquis de la Fayette with a ſword. This was done yeſterday, and the following letter ſent along with the preſent.

"SIR,

The Congreſs, ſenſible of the eſſential ſervices done by you to the United States, but unable to make you a proportionable return, have reſolved to preſent you with a ſword, as a ſmall token of their gratitude. They have directed, that the ſword be embelliſhed with ſuitable ornaments: in conſequence thereof, ſome of the principal events of a war in which you have diſtinguiſhed yourſelf by your bravery and good conduct, are repreſented thereon: theſe, with ſome emblematical figures, admirably executed, conſtitute its greateſt value. I have found, by experience, that, by means of the excellent artiſts with which this country abounds, it is eaſy to expreſs every thing, except the ſentiments we feel for your perſonal merit, and the obligations conferred on us by you. Not only emblems, but even words are too weak to expreſs them. I ſhall only add, that I am, with profound eſteem and reſpect, &c.

B. FRANKLIN,
Miniſter-Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of France.

P. S. My grandſon, who ſets off this moment for Havre-de-Grace, will have the honour to preſent you with the above ſword."

ENGLAND. [571.]

On Tueſday night, Nov. 2. Lord Macartney, late Governor of Grenada [557.], arrived in London, on his parole of honour, from France. His Lordſhip was at court on the 5th, and had a long conference with the King.

The eight Eaſt-India ſhips which arrived in the Shannon on the 3d of September [508.], ſailed thence under convoy about the 6th of November, and got all ſafe into the river, except the Valentine, which run aſhore on the Shark ſand near Guernſey. The crew and part of the cargo ſaved.

The grand fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, which ſailed from Spithead on the 22d of October [569.], went down the channel as far as the Lizard; but a contrary wind ſpringing up, they came back to Torbay on the 3d of November. After continuing their cruiſe, they came to Spithead on the 24th.——Sir Charles Hardy arrived at London from Portſmouth on Sunday Nov. 28. and was next day at court, and had a conference with the King.

On board the Daphne, by which Adm. Arbuthnot's letters to the Admiralty [615.] were ſent, came paſſengers Sir George Collier, and Col. Stuart, nephew to Lord Bute, the former having reſigned his command to Adm. Arbuthnot.

About the 23d of November Adm. Gambier hoiſted his flag on board the Dublin, lying at Plymouth, having ſucceeded Lord Shuldham as naval commander at that port.

By an order of council of Nov. 19. the prohibition to export, or carry coaſtwiſe, gunpowder, ſaltpeter, or any ſort of arms or ammunition, is continued for three months from the 23d of November. [450.]

By another order of council of the ſame date, mention being previouſly made, that upon a humble memorial of the ſmelters and manufacturers of copper in G. Britain, the proviſoes and conditions of the laſt order [569.] have been varied, and other rules and regulations have been eſtabliſhed in lieu thereof, the prohibition to export or carry coaſtwiſe copper is continued three months from the 24th of November [569.]; with certain exceptions.

By a third order of council, dated Nov. 26. the partial ſuſpenſion of the recruiting act, which took place on the 22d of May, [274.], is taken off.

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A court-martial was held at Portſmouth, Oct. 13. on board the Britannia, Adm. Darby preſident, on Capt. Croſby, of the heart of Oak, for ſeveral miſdemeanours, charged by Mr Darby, maſter of the ſaid ſhip; and Capt. Croſby was ſentenced to be caſhiered for a limited time.

Another court-martial was held on board the Prudent, at Spithead, Nov. 5. Capt. Thomas Burnet, of the Prudent, preſident, to inquire into the conduct of Capt. Edward Thompſon, of the Hyæna, and to try him for leaving his ſtation at Barbadoes, and bringing with him to England his Majeſty's ſhip Carysfort and Favourite ſloop, without orders; alſo for taking ſome ſeamen belonging to the Vengeance from the hoſpital at Barbadoes. "And the Court having heard the evidence produced, and what Capt. Thompſon had to offer in his defence, and maturely weighed and conſidered the whole; the Court are of opinion, that the charge had been proved in part; but as it appears the motives which induced Capt. Thompſon to leave his ſtation at Barbadoes, and proceed with the convoy to England, aroſe from a deſire of doing ſervice to his country, by ſecuring the trade, and not from any private motives, they do only adjudge him to be reprimanded; and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly."

The Duke of Richmond tells the freeholders of the county of Suſſex, in a letter dated Nov. 12.

"Having already laid before you a part of my correſpondence with Lord Weymouth, relative to the propoſals of the county-meeting on the 26th of Auguſt [506.], I think it right to trouble you with the remainder.

You will ſee by his Lordſhip's letter, of the 9th inſtant, which I received laſt night, that commiſſions are preparing for the fourteen gentlemen who offered to accept of companies, and that the warrant for iſſuing arms will be ready in a few days.

I congratulate you on the good proſpect there now is, that the efforts which have been made to carry into execution your wiſhes for arming yourſelves, will not prove ineffectual. Succeſs muſt ever attend the general ſenſe of the people properly claiming their juſt rights, and none can be more indubitably yours than the poſſeſſion of arms for your own defence. Poſſeſſing them, it will be your own faults if you do not learn their proper uſe; and if once Engliſhmen become univerſally armed, I ſhall have no fear of any foe."

"*London*, *Nov.* 10. The following regulation is ordered to take place in the army: All vacancies to be filled up from the half-pay liſt, in preference to the appointment of new officers. By this means the troops will be better officered, a number of brave men provided for, and one branch of public expence in a ſhort time annihilated."

"*London*, *Nov.* 11. Within a ſhort time ſeveral commiſſions have been made out, both in the regulars and militia, for Iriſh gentlemen who have quitted the French, Spaniſh, Ruſſian, and German ſervices."

"*London*, *Nov.* 12. They write from Portſmouth, that above thirty French and American priſoners have lately broke out of the Mill-houſe priſon near that place, among whom is the noted Guſtavus Cuningham [569.]; who has not ſince been heard of; but twelve of his fellow priſoners have been retaken." ——Cuningham has got to Paul Jones in Holland.

The camps broke up about the middle of November, there being no apprehenſions of an invaſion this ſeaſon.

The ſtate-lottery began drawing, at Guildhall, Nov. 15.

The printer of a morning paper, for publiſhing hand-bills, expreſſive of joy at the victory obtained by Adm. Keppel over the miniſtry [255.], received ſentence in the court of King's-bench, Nov. 24. to be confined in Newgate for twelve months.

On Tueſday, July 20. a farm-houſe at Teachwell, near Elleſmere, in Shropſhire, was ſet on fire, and entirely conſumed, by the reflection of the ſun on the roof of one end of the houſe, being covered with pantiles, to the adjoining building, which was thatched.——An accident ſomewhat ſimilar is thus related in a letter, dated, Withington, Glouceſterſhire, Oct. 25. "On the table I was writing at ſtood a ſmall glaſs decanter, and near that lay my handkerchief. The ſun (through a ſaſh-window, which was down, and at a conſiderable diſtance) ſhone full upon the decanter; which, collecting the rays into a point of focus, ſet fire to the handkerchief; and if I had not been in the room, might have had very ſerious conſequences."

IRE-

IRELAND. [571.]

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Dublin, Oct. 22. inſtructions for the repreſentatives of the city in parliament were unanimouſly agreed to, deſiring them "to oppoſe to the utmoſt of their power the granting of any ſupplies for more than ſix months, as being deemed the moſt probable and efficacious means of enſuring ſucceſs to our natural right to and conſtitutional requiſition of a free trade."

At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, held at the court-houſe of Kilmainham, Oct. 30. it was reſolved to inſtruct the repreſentatives of the county in parliament, "not to vote for any money-bill for a longer term than ſix months till the reſtrictions on the trade of this kingdom be taken off." The repreſentatives were alſo inſtructed, to concur in every mark of perſonal reſpect to the Lord Lieutenant, in teſtimony of his Excellency's meritorious conduct.

Thurſday, Nov. 4. the birth-day of K. William III. was obſerved in Dublin with great ſolemnity. The different bodies of volunteers of the city and county, with drums beating and colours flying, marched through ſeveral ſtreets of the city, till they arrived at College-green; where, having arranged themſelves round the ſtatue of K. William, at the diſcharge of a rocket, and taking the word of command from the Duke of Leinſter, they fired three grand diſcharges. After this there was a diſcharge of ſmall cannon, which was placed in the centre; and the whole body of volunteers then ſeparated. The ſtatue and pedeſtal of K. William was painted and ornamented in a very handſome manner, and to the ſhields of the four ſides of the pedeſtal were hung the following labels in large letters. "Weſt: The glorious revolution.—Eaſt: The volunteers of Ireland: Motto. *Quia-quaginta millia juncta, parati pro patria mori.*—South: Relief to Ireland.—North: A ſhort money bill;—A free trade:—Or elſe!!!"

On this occaſion the bounty left by James Knight, Eſq; to be diſtributed for ever on that day, was according to the will of the donor diſtributed to 200 poor perſons, viz. one Engliſh ſhilling incloſed in a piece of paper with theſe words: "November 4. to the end poor as well as rich may rejoice in the memorable day this is given you, that, when you refreſh yourſelf thereby, you may be thankful to God for ſending the great K. William to Ireland, and giving him victory over the Popiſh army at the Boyne in the year 1690, whereby the Proteſtants of this kingdom were reſtored to their poſſeſſions."

In the night of Nov. 1. a number of perſons well armed, made an attack on the houſe of Mr Lee, a muſician, in Dame ſtreet, Dublin; and after demoliſhing the windows, &c. they diſperſed, crying out, "The blood of importers muſt be ſhed." Some of the volunteer-corps attending, prevented further miſchief.

"*London, Nov.* 17. The Roman-Catholics of Ireland have entered into a ſubſcription to raiſe recruits for the ſervice of government; and a large ſum being already raiſed for that purpoſe, the recruiting goes on with amazing ſucceſs."

The ſeveral incampments of Ireland broke up in the beginning of November, and the troops went into winter-quarters.

SCOTLAND. [573.]

The inſult offered us by Paul Jones's ſquadron cruiſing in the frith of Forth [509.], made the ſheriff of Haddingtonſhire call a meeting of that county for the 23d of September. After ſeveral adjournments, a meeting held Nov. 4. were unanimouſly of opinion, That as parochial meetings called on this occaſion, expreſſed an ardent deſire to learn the uſe of arms, and, in the hour of danger, to ſtand forward in their own defence, the Preſes ſhould apply to the commander in chief for 500 ſtand of arms; for the return of which, when called for, and for the proper uſe of them while kept, the county to be anſwerable: That the baſis of every conſtitutional defence is a militia; but as it would be preſumption in a ſingle county to apply for that national object, without aſking the concurrence of their fellow-citizens, the Preſes was directed to write to the different Sheriffs, requeſting them to take the opinion of their reſpective counties upon the ſubject; and a committee was appointed to concur in ſuch general meaſures as ſhould be judged neceſſary for obtaining a well-regulated national militia in Scotland: and the propriety, both of arming the county, and of applying for a militia, was the unanimous opinion of the meeting.

MAR-

MARRIAGES.

Sept. 4. At New York, the Hon. Lionel Smythe, ſon and heir of Lord Viſcount Strangford, and Captain of the light infantry in the Royal Welch fuſileers, to Miſs Philips, eldeſt daughter of Frederick Philips, Eſq;

Nov. 5. At Edinburgh, Sir Archibald Hope, Bt, to Miſs Patoun, daughter of the late John Patoun, Eſq:

18. John Campbell, Eſq; writer to the ſignet, to Miſs Helen Callander, daughter of John Callander of Craigforth, Eſq;

BIRTHS.

"*Conſtantinople, Sept.* 17. One of the Sultanas is brought to bed of a prince, who has been named *Muſtapha*. His Highneſs has now three ſons.

Nov. 7. Mrs Colquhoun of Luſs, of a ſon.

8. At Edinburgh, Mrs Mitchelſon, wife of Samuel Mitchelſon, Eſq; clerk to the ſignet, of a ſon.

17. The Counteſs of Jerſey, of a daughter.

19. At Air, Mrs Campbell, junior of Fairfield, of a ſon.

21. Lady Grant of Grant, of a daughter.

21. The lady of Donald Campbell, Eſq; younger of Barbreck, of a ſon.

DEATHS.

Sept. 4. In America, William Henry Drayton, one of the delegates from South Carolina to the congreſs, in the 38th year of his age.

Oct. 18. At his ſeat at Cavan, Robert Maxwell, Earl of Farnham in Ireland. His Lordſhip having no iſſue-male, his title and eſtate devolve on his eldeſt brother, Barry Barry, member for the county of Cavan, which vacates his ſeat.

22. At Grouingen, Lady Haulkertoun, widow of William Lord Haulkertoun.

23. At Falkirk, in the 86th year of his age, Mr James Gaff, late meſſenger, and procurator-fiſcal of that town.

28. At London, Lord George Willoughby, of Parham. Dying a bachelor, and being the laſt in remainder, the title is extinct.

Nov. 1. At St Andrew's, Mrs Mary Irons, relict of Mr Robert Dick profeſſor of civil hiſtory in the univerſity of St Andrew's.

6. At Southampton, Admiral Collins.

7. At Valleyfield, Lady Preſton, relict of Sir George Preſton, Bt, of Valleyfield.

8. At Edinburgh, Anne Counteſs of Northeſk, wife of the preſent Earl.

At Llanidloes, in Montgomeryſhire, aged 56, Maj-Gen. Valentine Jones.

9. At Lydd, in Kent, Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq; chamberlain of London.

9. Mr Andrew Mackenzie of North Shields, of an apoplectic fit, in the 70th year of his age. In the younger part of his life, he accompanied, in quality of ſail-maker, Commodore Anſon, in his voyage round the world, whoſe ſufferings are well known. Adm Keppel, and a Mr Miller of London, are now the only two living who were with Lord Anſon.

11. At Kirklington, Oxfordſhire, Sir James Dafhwood, Bt.

11. At Coventry, Colonel John Wells, aged 82, late of the third regiment of foot-guards.

Capt. W. Pitcairn, ſon of Maj. Pitcairn, who loſt his life on Bunker's-hill.

15. At Dundee, John Ramſay, Eſq; of Kinalty.

17. At Air, Mrs Whitefoord of Dunduff, in the 84th year of her age.

18. At Steven-houſe, Mr William Sinclair, youngeſt ſon of Sir John Sinclair of Murkle, Bt.

19. At Newport, in the iſle of Wight, Sir Simeon Stuart, Bt, member of parliament for the county of Southampton, and colonel of the ſouth battalion of the Hampſhire militia.

16. At Edinburgh, Alice Dundas, daughter of the deceaſed Geore Dundas, Eſq;

20. At Edinburgh, Mr Patrick Bowie, merchant in that city. [135•]

20. At Edinburgh, Mr Archibald Campbell, ſenior, brewer.

Thomas Duncombe, Eſq; lately elected member for Downton in Wilts, and high ſheriff of the county of York.

27. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs Hamilton.

27. At Coldhouſe, Roxburghſhire, Mrs Jean Paterſon, widow of Walter Scott, Eſq; of Whiteſield, and ſpouſe of William Scott, Eſq; of Coldhouſe.

27. Mr Andrew Gray miniſter of Abernethy.

27. At his ſeat of Pitt-place, Epſom, a quarter paſt eleven at night, Thomas Lord Lyttelton, Baron of Frankley, P. C. Chief Juſtice in Eyre of his Majeſty's Foreſts north of Trent, High Steward of Bewdley in Worceſter, &c. His Lordſhip was born Jan. 30. 1744; and ſucceeded his father, George Lord Lyttelton, Aug. 22. 1773. He married, June 26. 1772, Apphia, daughter of Broome Witts, Eſq; of Chipping-norton in Oxfordſhire, and widow of Joſeph Peach, Eſq; late Governor of Calcutta in the Eaſt Indies; but dying without iſſue, the title is extinct —The preſent repreſentative of the ancient and noble family of Lyttelton, is William Henry Lyttelton, ſixth ſon of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bt, deceaſed, and uncle to the late Thomas Lord Lyttelton, created a Peer of Ireland July 2. 1776, by the title of *Lord Weſtcote, of Balamare* in the county

of

of Longford. His Lordſhip is a Privy Counſellor, a Lord of the Treaſury, and member for Bewdley.—The Lord now deceaſed had ſupped, and was apparently in good health a few minutes before his death.

28. At Leith, Mrs Brodie of Lethem.

29. At Montroſe, Robert Hunter, Eſq; collector of the cuſtoms.

29. At Edinburgh, after a tedious illneſs, William Earl of Caithneſs.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has beeen pleaſed,

Nov. 6. to appoint Edward Lord Thurlow, Chancellor of Great Britain, or the Chancellor of Great Britain or Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain for the time being, and ſeveral other miniſters of ſtate now and for the time being, and alſo Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Soame Jenyns, Eſq; Lord Robert Spencer, the Hon. Charles Greville, William Eden, Thomas de Grey, Andrew Stuart, and Edw. Gibbon, Eſqs, to be Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations. [399.]

—13. to appoint James Hare, Eſq; Miniſter-Plenipotentiary at the court of Warſaw.

—19 In, and by advice of, the privy council, to appoint John Howard and George Whateley, Eſqs, and John Fothergill, M. D. to be Superviſors of the buildings to be erected in purſuance of an act 19th Geo. III. "to explain and amend the laws relating to the tranſportation, impriſonment, and other puniſhment, of certain offenders." [340.]

—24. to declare, in council, Henry Earl Bathurſt Lord Preſident of the Privy Council, [in the room of Earl Gower, who reſigned]; and his Lordſhip took his place at the board.

—25. to appoint Wills Earl of Hillſborough to be one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, [in the room of Viſcount Weymouth, who retires, on a penſion, as is ſaid, of 3000 l.]

War-office, Nov. 2. 1779.

89th regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant: Hon. Lt-Col Lucius Ferd. Cary, late of 105th foot.

Majors: Capt. Henry Fermor, of 18th foot; and Capt. J. Sufanna Patton, of 6th foot.

Captains: Lieut. Edward Pole, of 6th foot; Lieut. Zachary Bayly, of 65th foot: Lieut. Robert Harvey Mallory, of 30th foot; Lieut. Charles Semple, of 51ſt foot; Lieut. John Sayer, of 18th foot; Hon. Robert Bellenden; and John Coghlan, Eſq;

Captain-Lieutenant: Benning Wentworth, Eſq;

Chaplain: James Pope, Clerk.

Adjutant: Serj.-Maj. Andrew Wampey, of 6th foot.

Quartermaſter: Charles Cook, junior.

Surgeon: Thomas Scott, late mate of 35th.

From other papers.

John Wilkes, Eſq; Chamberlain of London, in the room of Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq; deceaſed. Mr James, late partner with Mr Fordyce [32. 422.], was a candidate; but, after ſome days ſcrutiny, the numbers for Mr Wilkes being 2332, and thoſe for Mr James only 370, the latter gave up.

Prices of grain at Haddington, Dec. 10. 1779.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	14s. 6d.	13s. 4d.	12s. 8d.
Bear,	11s. 3d.	10s. 6d.	9s. 6d.
Oats,	9s. 9d.	9s. 0d.	8s. 4d.
Peaſe,	7s. 6d	7s. 0d.	6s. 4d.

Edinburgh, Dec. 14. Oat-meal, 8 d. 2 f. Bear-meal, 5 d. Peaſe-meal, 5 d.

Burials in the Grayfriars church-yard, Edinburgh, in November 1779.

Males 25 } 65. Increaſed 25.
Females 40 }

Age.	N°	Diseases.	N°
Under 2	16	Aged ——	14
Between 2 & 5	6	Aſthma ——	1
5 & 10	4	Childbed ——	1
10 & 20	4	Chincough ——	10
20 & 30	3	Conſumption ——	14
30 & 40	4	Fever ——	10
40 & 50	6	Meaſles ——	1
50 & 60	4	Palſy ——	1
60 & 70	9	Small pox ——	4
70 & 80	7	Stillborn ——	5
80 & 90	2	Teething ——	4
90 & 100	0		

PRICES of STOCKS.

Nov. 15.

South Sea New Ann. 60 3 4ths a 61
3 per cent. Conſ. 61 3 8ths.
4 per cent. Conſ. 1762, 60 7 8ths.
India bonds, 21 s. a 23 s. pr.
Navy and Vict. Bills, 11 3 8ths per cent.
Annuities 1778, 11 13 16 yrs pur.
Lottery Tickets 13 l.
The reſt ſhut.

Nov. 26.

Bank Stock 111
India ditto, 144 1 4th a 3 4ths.
South Sea New Ann. 61 a 60 3 4ths.
3 per cent. Fk. red. 60 3 4ths.
3 per cent. Conſ. 61 3 8ths.
3 per cent. Conſ. 1751, 60 3 4ths.
4 per cent. Conſ. 1762, 60 7 8ths a 61.
4 per cent. 1777, 78 3 4ths a 79.
India bonds, 25 s. pr.
Navy and Vict. Bills, 11 1 8th per cent.
Annuities 1778, 11 7 8ths a 13-16.
Lottery Tickets 13 l. 10 s.
The reſt ſhut.